

THE BRITISH JOURNAL OF DELINQUENCY

Vol. VI

July, 1955

No. 1

EDITORIAL

On all matters concerning psychopathy Sir David Henderson speaks with the voice of authority: and we feel privileged to publish in this issue his Maudsley Bequest Lecture on the subject. Sir David has done more than anyone in this country to rescue the clinical concept of psychopathy from the inflations and depredations to which it has been subject during its chequered development. In this paper he reiterates his plea that the term should be reserved for a specific *group* of mental disorders, to be distinguished respectively from neurotic and psychotic characters, and to be preserved intact alike from accretions contributed by those who are incapable of clinical classification and the over-meticulous sub-divisions of those whose taste for classification outruns their clinical discretion; and it is significant that, after a lifetime of experience of the subject, he should content himself with a simple tri-partite classification based for the most part on a combination of dynamic and descriptive standards. If he should appear to despair of establishing a more elaborate sub-division on an etiological basis this does no more than reflect the inchoation of our existing psychopathology. This fact does not, however, absolve clinicians from the task of producing more satisfactory and elaborate etiological formulations which must of course be as specific as the clinical sub-groups they are intended to explain. The real difficulty with which the clinician is faced is lack of understanding of the process of 'normal' character formation. It is at least as difficult to distinguish a psychopath from a 'normal' person as it is to differentiate him from a schizoid character. Psychopathy in fact provides an exception to the general psychiatric proposition that one learns of the normal through study of the abnormal: to understand the psychopath one must grasp the larval abnormality of the normal.

On the subject of treatment Sir David preserves an attitude of tempered expectation which, however, he is careful to point out, is contingent on the application of a variety of preventive measures at the optimum age, namely, during the formative phases of childhood. As he further points out, the psychopath who finds his way into an adult Court is already in a state of malignant organization, and the fact that such cases are notoriously refractory to therapeutic measures is no more surprising than the fact that advanced cases of phthisis have a poor prognosis. We now know that the 'early' case of consumption has a good prognosis; and there is no reason why the early case of psychopathy should not respond if taken before the therapeutic ebb. Work at the *Portman Clinic* (I.S.T.D.) suggests that, given appropriate handling, the prognosis of early psychopathic cases is not less favourable than that of neurotic delinquency.¹ In the meantime it is encouraging to have even the qualified support of so eminent an authority as Sir David Henderson. One thing is certain about the treatment of psychopathy: it should never be undertaken by those who cannot endure disappointment, and who, by the same token, have failed to recognize that the unconsciously revengeful compulsion to disappoint is a characteristic feature of psychopathy, not an aspersion on the psychiatric authority of the therapist.

In this connection we would draw attention to the article by Leonard Bloom on the residential psychotherapy of maladjusted or delinquent children. The writer ingenuously prefaces his account of a significant experiment in psycho-therapeutic pedagogy by quoting the common psychiatric dictum that for psychotherapy to be successful the psychiatrist must not himself be emotionally involved with the patient, and must have as little social contact with him as possible. And he proceeds to throw cold water on this assumption by describing an educational institution in which apparently successful psychotherapy, formal and informal, is conducted under pedagogic conditions which encourage both social contact and emotional involvement. By so doing he raises an issue which strikes to the roots of institutional treatment whether in prison, hospital or summer camp. Actually the idea that transferences and counter-transferences should be analysed rather than fostered or exploited applies only to strictly psycho-analytical procedures. Aichhorn, who was among the first to apply psycho-analytical principles to delinquents in an institutional setting, did not hesitate to say that the essence of treatment of either violent or non-violent psychopaths lay in the modification of existing negative transferences by a personal contact, in which patience and sympathy were combined with a

¹ See Grygier and Glover (1951), *Brit. J. Delinq.*, 2, 2, 144-5.

shrewd understanding of the unconscious motivations of psychopathic conduct to produce a working positive transference. To be sure, we must suspend judgment on the virtues of the 'pedagogic-therapeutic institution' until Mr. Bloom or his principal, Mr. Otto Shaw, produces a table of after-histories which can be checked by the after-histories of matched groups of delinquents, treated respectively by 'neutral' methods of psychotherapy, or by psychotherapy operating under conditions of penal control. Until we have such controlled results we cannot resolve even such a simple problem as whether psycho-therapists working in prison should be members of the prison staff or permanent prison visitors appointed by the Ministry of Health.

Interest and emphasis upon the heredity factor in criminality has waxed and waned over the last eighty years. The Darwinian theory doubtless provoked Lombroso into the theory of atavism and to-day the discovery of Mendel and the technique of twin studies has again renewed in some quarters the hope that genetics would pinpoint the causal genes of crime and psychosis. It would have been natural to suppose that the protagonists of the genetic causation would have been the first to exhibit some benevolence towards the unfortunate bearers of such a malign genetic load as crime and psychosis; but no, the reverse has been largely true as liquidation has been the solution of such investigators as Hooton, not to mention the Nazi-ethno-political cleansing squads. Professor Penrose's paper in this number is therefore a timely critique and speaks for itself.

Although the attitude to crime and indeed the very selection and definition of criminal behaviour is undeniably a function of a given social structure and its ethic, the capacity to conform to the social norms is some measure of the individual stability and this has some genetic foundation. What we have to do in complex socio-psychological phenomena is to filter off from the complex of factors those which can be reduced to genetic terms such as in some measure mental defect and psychosis. Family trees must assist in this assessment. But how rarely are they sufficiently extensive and accurate. Even this is difficult enough in the present state of our knowledge, for, as may be pointed out, the sex incidence of crime may be due not so much to the biological sex difference as to the way in which sex social estimates are a product of the emphasis and opportunities given to masculinity in a given culture. Social pressure does not create sex differences but imposes such obligations upon the male that the difference of sex incidence of crime can be accounted for largely on environmental grounds. Nor does the incidence of mental disorder give us safe grounds for establishing a genetic factor for crime. The defective is more easily apprehended through lack of intelligence

because his stupidity betrays him and the insane are treated or segregated before criminosis grows out of their delusions. The morphological studies of Kretschmer, Sheldon and others dichotomise outspoken psychotic disorders, but the offender without outspoken psychotic or neurotic traits does not fall into the now recognized groups to any significant extent.

The invasion of the social sciences by the psychiatrist raises some professional problems that are not easy to solve. In particular the distinction between normal and disordered behaviour has lost some of its former sharpness. In the case of delinquency work, this is well illustrated in the concepts of 'psychopathy' and of 'sexual disorder', or 'sexual psychopathy', on the strength of which the psychiatrist frequently claims—so far, to be sure, without much success—prior authority in the disposal of accused persons suffering from these conditions. But whereas the clinician has encountered comparatively little organized opposition and has acquired a sometimes pontifical authority in such fields as industrial efficiency, marital compatibility, educational and personnel selection, to say nothing of the upbringing of children, in the case of his criminological enterprises he has had to face the superior authority of legal and penal codes. That there are natural limits to the validity of 'pathological' criteria in the diagnosis and treatment of criminal offenders is implicit in the thesis presented by Dr. William Calder in his article on 'The Sexual Offender' in this issue; and he has many pertinent comments to make on the subject, in particular on the broader aspects of 'criminal responsibility', which, he maintains, are frequently neglected by the forensic psychiatrist when he examines sexual offenders at outpatient clinics. Needless to say, the issue turns ultimately on the importance of unconscious factors in criminal conduct, and on the psychiatrist's capacity to distinguish a preponderance of 'pathogenic' factors in any given case. There is, in fact, no answer to this problem save further research, during the carrying-out of which, however, the officers of the law, having maintained their primary aim of promoting public safety, might well preserve an open mind regarding the ultimate nature of responsibility. For if the standards of abnormality are difficult to establish, it follows that, except in the narrow statistical sense, the standards of normality are equally obscure. Whatever may be the outcome of attempts to delimit the frontiers of normality, it is at any rate an intriguing and possibly a reassuring thought that in the silent and often unrecognized struggle for authority between the man in the street and the psychiatrist, the law has so far supported the rights of the individual by maintaining in effect that the common citizen must be allowed the privilege of breaking the law without benefit or redress of psychiatry.

THE CLASSIFICATION AND TREATMENT OF PSYCHOPATHIC STATES¹

By DAVID HENDERSON (EDINBURGH)

I am glad to have this opportunity to reconsider the classification and treatment of psychopathic states. It is a matter of great complexity, of much interest, and of some urgency. It involves a considerable number of our fellows who are desperately in need of help, and whose place in our psychiatric hierarchy should be more securely determined. Before dealing with my task in a specific way I should like to digress for a few minutes so as to utilize this occasion to pay my homage to James Cowles Prichard, the Bristol physician who gave the first systematic description of moral insanity; Esquirol acknowledged his indebtedness to him. All this came forcibly before me when, almost fortuitously, I chanced on a small book entitled 'Prichard and Symonds, with chapters on Moral Insanity' written in 1891 by Hack Tuke. Prichard and Symonds were, in a number of respects, complementary to one another, and it seems appropriate to record what they accomplished in a very difficult field.

James Cowles Prichard was born at Ross in Herefordshire in 1786, and although he did not have the benefit of a school education, yet he became a good linguist, and graduated in medicine in 1810 at Edinburgh University. Shortly afterwards he commenced his work as a general practitioner in Bristol. He soon showed that he was almost more interested in people than in their diseases, because in 1813 he published the first volume of a book—which subsequently grew into four volumes—entitled 'The Physical History of Man'. It is a most comprehensive and erudite work dealing with all the races of mankind, and provides ample evidence of Prichard's philosophical and original mind. For instance, he argued that it was probable that our first parents were black, and that the white races of the human species were the result of civilization; an interesting sidelight on the colour bar problem. It was not long before his experience in general practice aroused his interest in nervous and mental diseases, and this was intensified when he was appointed consulting physician to St. Peter's Hospital, Bristol, 'where a great proportion of the cases brought under his observation belonged to the class of mental diseases'. A description of his experience and work was embodied in a 'Treatise on Nervous Diseases' published in 1822, to be followed by the publication in 1835 of his more famous 'Treatise on Insanity and other Disorders affecting the Mind'. A smaller work entitled 'Forms of Insanity in relation to Jurisprudence' was published in 1842. It is of interest to note

¹ Maudsley Bequest Lecture, 15th February, 1955, at the quarterly meeting of the Royal Medico-Psychological Association.

that Prichard's views, like those of every sensible person, seem to have changed as his practice and experience became enlarged. For instance, it is reported that on one occasion he criticized severely Dr. Gall who had published a case of 'disorder of the propensities' as the result of a severe head injury. Prichard regarded this as an absurd suggestion and made the rather acid comment: 'The College of Surgeons may expect one day to march in triumph and take possession of the vacant seats of the criminal Judges; and we shall proceed forthwith to apply the trepan where now the halter and the gibbet are thought most applicable'. I wonder what Prichard's prophetic soul might say now in the light of all the wonderful developments of neuro-surgery combined, of course, with psychiatry. In 1834, a year before the publication of his book in which he outlined the doctrine of moral insanity, Prichard wrote a letter to Hack Tuke's father in which he asked for certain information. 'I am desirous to know whether you have observed (at the York Retreat) any cases of moral insanity. By that term I distinguish the mental state of persons who betray no lesion of understanding or want of the power of reasoning and conversing correctly upon any subject whatever, and whose disease consists in a perverted state of temper, inclinations, habit and conduct. Such individuals are sometimes unusually excited and boisterous, at others dejected (without any hallucinations), sometimes misanthropic and morose'. That was the concise, terse, original description which has served the purpose of classifying those conditions we now call psychopathic states. The second part of the above description must be interpreted in a liberal spirit, and must not be confused with the swings of mood which characterize the cyclothymic. It was this fact which I believe led Pinel at first to question Prichard's case material and to maintain that such cases were adequately covered by the term '*manie sans delire*' or '*folie raisonnante*' which he had suggested. Further examination, however, led both Pinel and Esquirol to accept Prichard's definition in relation to a group of cases which had always constituted a particularly difficult problem. I admit that some of Prichard's cases are questionable, certain of them would have been better diagnosed as hypomanic or even manic depressive states, and others appear to have been determined by organic factors. But, irrespective of his errors in diagnosis, he has the distinction of breaking new ground so that we can readily agree with Hack Tuke when he describes him as one 'who distinguished himself not only as an ethnologist, but as the author of by far the best English work on insanity in his generation, who was the most celebrated Medical Commissioner that ever sat at the Lunacy Board, and who produced a profound sensation in the legal and psychological world by enunciating the doctrine of so-called 'Moral Insanity', the echoes of which have not yet died away, nor are likely

to do so as long as crimes are committed, and the question of human responsibility has to be determined'. Prichard, whose work has stood the test of time, died in 1848, aged sixty-two years.

John Addington Symonds, frequently referred to as the beloved Bristol physician, the sixth in medical succession in his family, was born in 1809, studied at Oxford and Edinburgh, where in 1828 he obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine. He lectured at Bristol on the practice of medicine and on forensic medicine, and was consulting physician to the Bristol General Hospital. His philosophical interests are indicated by some of the many articles he wrote, *e.g.* :—(1) The relation between mind and muscle. (2) Sleep and dreams. (3) Apparitions. (4) Habits. (5) The principles of beauty. (6) Criminal responsibility in relation to insanity. In this latter work Symonds showed that he was a strong supporter of Prichard's views. He died in 1871 at the age of sixty-two years.

And now, if I may continue for a moment or two to be historically-minded, I would like to refer you to a paper on Moral Insanity presented in 1884 by Hack Tuke at a meeting of the Psychological section of the British Medical Association in Belfast. He wrote: 'They may be a plague to life, the thorn in the flesh, the skeleton in the cupboard, but may never be certified as lunatics or pass through the portals of Broadmoor; in fact it may well be that numerous cases of moral insanity are scientifically but not legally mad'. At another place he says: 'no absolute rule can be laid down by which to differentiate moral insanity from moral depravity but each case must be decided in relation to the individual himself, his antecedents, education, surroundings, social status, the nature of certain acts, and the mode in which they were performed, along with other circumstances fairly raising a suspicion that they were not under his control. In no other form is it so necessary to study the individual, his natural character, his organization and his previous diseases'. It is noteworthy that, at that time, men of the standing of Savage, Connolly Norman, Wigglesworth, Nugent, Rayner, Nicholson and Yellowlees all expressed themselves as being in accord with Hack Tuke's views. He put his finger on the points which still concern us to-day, and which, on numerous occasions, have created a conflict of opinion not only between psychiatrists, but more importantly between medicine and law. I am one of those who hold that to make a distinction between the scientifically (medically) but not legally mad is wholly illogical. I maintain the dictum spoken by Lord Justice Clark Inglis: 'That which in fact is a condition of mental disease cannot in law be a condition of mental health'. We must therefore be perfectly convinced of our point of view, and must be assured that the unfortunate victims of a psychopathic state (I wish someone would coin an even more appropriate

term) are sick persons, persons who, irrespective of their will or desire, are driven by impulses of thought and conduct which impel them into anti-social conduct. Furthermore we must agree with Hack Tuke that it is almost impossible to make any clear distinction between moral insanity and moral depravity unless all the personal and environmental factors have been fully examined. In other words we must resist being drawn into moralistic disputes. No-one probably is born wicked any more than he may be born of unsound mind, but wickedness—or call it an abnormality of conduct—arises from factors and causes, is not entered into purposefully except rarely, and is determined by the reaction tendencies of the individual. A flaw or defect in a person's moral structure may constitute a disease as truly as some form of physical involvement. For that reason I have no hesitation in bringing what support I can to the acceptance of Prichard's formulation of what he called moral insanity. His work is evidence of good clinical research and observation carried out while working in comparative isolation, and with the simplest of tools.

Probably the majority of the medical profession have accepted the concept of psychopathic states as a state of mental impairment which has achieved clinical recognition and standing. But there are still some doubters and waverers dominated by ethical, moralistic and legal doctrine who repudiate a health concept, and think in terms of incarceration and punishment rather than of treatment. To effect greater unanimity, and to influence the law and the public more effectively we must be sure of our ground, and must be convinced of the necessity to recognize and make provision for those psychopathic persons who are so dangerous both to themselves and to society.

A reasonable classification is essential. We must have some yard-stick whereby we can measure so that a valid comparison can be made with other clinical states. Kraepelin can still be regarded as our exemplar. He it was who defined the better accepted clinical categories of manic depressive psychosis, dementia præcox, and paranoiac states. He effected a symptomatological differentiation along the lines laid down by Greisinger who had suggested that the agreement of a great number of cases in certain signs was justification for the establishment of clinical entities. That is the plan which we must follow: it is the only sure guide. The ætiology is too complex and variable, there is no uniform psychopathological or psychophysiological basis but these must be built in to the scheme of each individual case. We can readily admit that the symptomatic picture may not be completely accurate, but we can strengthen it by taking into account the chronological life story so that the formation of symptoms as reactions to life's stresses and strains can be noted. Furthermore we must remember that it is

justifiable always to make allowance for the occurrence of temporary episodes which may obscure the clinical picture and may or may not be in conformity with the underlying process: *e.g.* hysterical episodes in schizophrenia, or schizoid episodes complicating depressive and even manic states. We thus reach an approximation to clinical certainty, and in doing so we keep before us the dynamic implications and size up how the patient has changed from his more normal state, what the change seems to mean, and what is being accomplished by it. If we study and analyse psychopathic states in that way then we will be able to make comparisons and to arrange our data in a manner which makes them easily accessible. We will classify our material according to the particular reaction type, the reaction of the individual to his social environment. That is a long way from mere pigeon-holing of our case material, and makes allowance for possible variations dependent on the particular personality and the setting in which the symptoms occur. Such a variation was allowed for in the past much more than has been the custom recently. I can remember the time when we felt unsure about making a diagnosis of a manic depressive or dementia præcox or schizophrenic state, and that was why Adolf Meyer suggested that it might be wiser to define certain cases as 'allied to' manic depressive, or dementia præcox, as the case might be. Then at a later date those 'allied' cases could be re-studied to estimate what time and treatment had effected. I have made these observations because the perfectionists or the cynics are apt to be harshly critical and inclined to argue that mistakes should not occur. That state of certainty is never likely to be attained, allowance will always have to be made for the atypical case. But, if all psychiatrists would accept the psychopathic states as a homogeneous grouping rather than as a mere dumping ground to which are relegated cases that cannot be adequately understood or diagnosed, then we shall make progress. I believe that we have accumulated sufficient information to allow us to do so with as much certainty as with any other disordered mental state. Because a child may be a liar, a thief, aggressive, destructive, and so on we do not at once insist that such a child has a psychopathic constitution. Most of us have done a fair amount of lying and thieving and have shown destructive and disturbing tendencies, out of which, happily, we are able to grow; but when all such traits are met with in combination and are combined with lack of shame, and remorse, and insight, and when treatment both of a personal and environmental nature has proved unavailing and the offences persist throughout a child's development into adult life, then we can classify such a constellation of features as pointing to a seriously involved personality of the psychopathic type. Classification is thus closely bound up with diagnosis and it is on our ability to effect a correct diagnosis of the main state that

we are justified in creating sub-divisions which would facilitate still further our working arrangements.

This is where I find myself at variance with other observers. We must be careful not to over-elaborate otherwise we will become bogged down with detail, and error and confusion will occur. Both Kraepelin and Kahn made that mistake. More recently Bromberg's suggestion to follow the system employed in the Clinic of the New York Court of General Sessions is a perpetuation of the same method. At that Clinic a differentiation is made in terms of personality characteristics of which fifteen are listed but these fifteen could easily be elaborated into double that number. We must avoid over-lapping as much as possible, and that is bound to happen if we categorize individual types too much. To produce workable units we must strive for a broad grouping which, however, must not be too extreme. Partridge, for instance, regarded the general term sociopath as more acceptable than psychopath, and it is that lead that Kennedy has appeared to follow when he postulated a classification based on social efficiency. But if we analyse his suggestion we find that he has really only two groups: (1) those who make a satisfactory social adjustment (even although they are unhappy), and (2) those who don't. Kennedy, I think, might agree that it is neither advisable nor even necessary to classify those who make a satisfactory adjustment as psychopathic—it is only those who fail to make the grade who constitute our problem.

I trust, therefore, that I may not be thought too presumptuous when I adhere to the grouping which I suggested a good many years ago in the Salmon Lectures—the predominantly aggressive, the predominantly inadequate, and the predominantly creative. That is indeed a broad grouping, it includes a multiplicity of cases, there is over-lapping but not so as to create confusion. It covers all the different varieties of psychopathic states which we encounter. The only exception I am prepared to make is to exclude the great majority of homosexuals from the psychopathic category. The homosexual's problem is a localized disorder which does not necessarily interfere with his work record and his general adaptability and efficiency. The striking feature of the aggressive group is the intermittent and transitory nature of their conduct, reminding one constantly of a major epileptic discharge so that great relief is experienced almost immediately after the attack is over. This is vividly illustrated by the amazing calmness and relaxation which occur after a dangerous suicidal or homicidal act—a state as if one's destiny had been accomplished and there was nothing more to be done about it, a condition of amazement coupled with grim satisfaction and greatly delayed insight, similar to the katathymic crisis described by Wertham.

Those who constitute the inadequate group are almost more consistently abnormal, malignant, and inaccessible to treatment than the aggressives. The difficulty here centres in our ability to effect satisfactory clinical differentiation from certain types of neurotic, cycloid, and schizoid reaction, but a careful analysis of character traits, of life history, and of clinical phenomena and after-history can leave us in no doubt of the pathognomonic features which characterize them.

Finally, there is every justification to include in our psychopathic grouping those persons with creative qualities who might, in certain circumstances, have reached great distinction provided their conduct could have been organized along orthodox lines, or at least was not too disruptive of socially acceptable conditions.

The thread which binds all of those groups is the emotional instability, explosiveness, and particularly the egocentricity and emotional immaturity—the narcissistic exhibitionism—which is common to all of them, plus their inability to profit by experience.

The second part of my remit concerns itself with treatment, which is an even more difficult issue than classification. We may admit at once that we do not have very good material to work with. We are dealing with people who, either through their original constitution, or through the force of multiple adverse environmental circumstances or a combination of these have developed malignant reaction tendencies which have spread insidiously through their system just as an epithelioma may do.

It is obvious enough that our treatment measures can be divided into the two broad categories of (1) the preventive, and (2) the curative, or, if you prefer it (1) the long term and (2) the immediate or symptomatic.

I regret that I have no new remedy to offer and in consequence I might easily content myself by giving my blessing and support to all the interesting clinical and experimental work, directed from a variety of angles, which is being undertaken. It may lead to a clearer light being brought to bear on a baffling problem. But merely to rest there would hardly be a courteous reply to those who have been responsible for organizing the Maudsley Bequest Lectures. Confronted with a problem of this sort we must be realistic, and must keep fundamental facts before us. And that is why I always try to remind myself of Dr. Andrew Balfour's formula: 'To make the unfit fit is a noble task, but to make the fit fitter is a far higher and finer achievement'. That is just what our task is. We require to see that people are born healthy, and are surrounded from their earliest days by an environment which will assist them to compete equally with their neighbours. That is what we mean by eugenics—a science which takes cognisance of *all* influences that tend, in however remote a degree, to give to the more suitable

racess, or strains of blood, a better chance of prevailing speedily over the less suitable than they otherwise would have had. The sooner we depart from the view that the study of hereditary principles spells therapeutic nihilism the better, because it is essential to strive for greater biological exactitude, for a greater understanding of the combined forces of nature and nurture leading to human betterment. We cannot afford to neglect the one at the expense of the other. We must keep the quality of the race in the forefront while we study and manipulate the environment, and ease the social and economic conditions under which we live. If we fail to do so, then it is not unlikely that we shall soon have a more lop-sided society even than exists to-day, a dysgenic rather than a eugenic situation. But, as our National Health Service develops, perhaps it will live more and more up to the ideal which it promoted when it spoke of medicine as applied human biology—‘ the medical practitioners and the medical services should view the individual as a living organism in relation to his whole environment ’. With that background we can become a shade more specific, and can attempt to map out a therapeutic approach which may bring some reward, but success will depend upon our ability to see into the individual’s life, to understand his difficulties, and to guide him into more constructive channels. The science of man will require to be developed as a form of clinical research and investigation, and a spirit of optimism must be kept in the forefront. It will surely be our object from the very beginning to engender a sense of emotional security, a feeling of being understood, and enough encouragement to enable him to utilize his assets to the best advantage. And all this must be done long before any specific treatment procedure, as such, is instituted. It should be done, if possible, in the home, and it is as likely as not to be accomplished by conveying a state of empathy rather than by anything more specific. What we should aim at is to encourage the growth of a maturing common-sense. This may be partly effected by our social organization in the form of clubs, sports grounds, play centres which train people into healthy habits of life and work. The emphasis must be on getting the case young. Once a child has been before a juvenile court, or has been in a remand home, approved school, borstal, or prison, a considerable amount of disorganization has already taken place, and it is not so easy to influence that person’s future for good. A psychopathic state may not be malignant to start with, but it soon becomes so, and the difficulties of rehabilitation are well known. We must, therefore, have well-equipped child psychiatric units, preferably working in association with pædiatric hospitals, and we must do everything possible to attract more workers into a field where so much preventive mental hygiene work can be done. Furthermore, let us give all the support and encouragement we can to the social rehabilitation

work which is being carried out at Belmont Hospital, London, under the supervision of Dr. Maxwell Jones. We need not entirely agree with the methods which are employed there but at any rate we can admire the courage and determination with which this somewhat nerve-wracking experiment is being tackled. It is work which requires a fortitude and patience which few of us possess. I am, however, grateful to Dr. Jones for sending me a reprint of a short paper entitled 'The Treatment of Character Disorder in a Therapeutic Community'. In the last paragraph he poses a question and asks 'why it is that in all parts of the world psychopaths continue to be treated in mental hospitals alongside psychotic patients when we know perfectly well that the restrictive and relatively authoritarian regime, which may be justified for a psychotic patient, is the worst possible environment for the treatment of a psychopath'. Those of us who have had the responsibility of controlling and supervising the work of a mental hospital could not agree with him more in one respect. No-one is more disruptive of the peace of a mental hospital than the psychopath. Usually he is a voluntary patient and an unsatisfactory one at that. He is always requesting concessions which cannot be granted, and he adopts a most infuriating superior attitude towards his fellow patients. While I agree completely in that respect yet the question of whether or not the psychopath requires a loose or a tight rein is quite another matter. Let us be quite clear in regard to this. The person suffering from a psychopathic state is the most dangerous in the community. He is unpredictable, unreliable, and a potential danger to himself and the lieges. He must be protected and so must the public, and I cannot see how that dual purpose can be effected unless we have an authoritarian regime which at the same time is tempered with justice and a remedial outlook. That those two things are not incompatible is evidenced by the work which has been accomplished by Stürup at Herstedvester. Again, we need not adopt all the methods which Stürup advocates but the system employed gives a measure of safety, along with individualization, which has given encouraging results. I admit that I have never been fully convinced of the advantages of psycho-drama and group therapy over the more personal and individual approach but, if they are employed, then I believe they are likely to give better results under controlled rather than under too elastic conditions. I would, at least, have fewer headaches under the former as compared with the latter system. In any case the treatment of the psychopath constitutes a very special problem different from the prison system on the one hand, and the mental hospital on the other. And yet, if he is to be adequately cared for and treated, we have to utilize what is best or more suitable of both systems and have an organization, either within or without the prison system, staffed by

psychiatrists, where treatment can be maintained until it seems likely that a sense of social responsibility has been established. We should apply the same criteria regarding discharge as we do before sanctioning the discharge of a patient from our mental hospitals. It is disappointing that so far the modern methods of physical therapy have been of so little help to us. With greater refinement of technique, and with more knowledge of brain-functioning, neuro-surgery may help us more than so far has been accomplished but at present our main hope in treatment seems to lie in dealing with such conditions in their incipency by establishing a mental health service which works in co-ordination with every form of medical and social work.

‘I am not only ashamed but heartily sorry, that, besides death, there are diseases, incurable; yet not for my own sake or that they be beyond my art, but for the general cause and sake of humanity whose common cause I apprehend as mine own.’ (Religio Medici.)



THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON CRIMINOLOGY

12th-18th SEPTEMBER, 1955

Bedford College, Regent's Park
London, N.W.1

MAIN SUBJECT: RECIDIVISM

Other subjects include: Physique and Delinquency (Professor and Mrs. Glueck); Sex Offenders (Dr. G. B. Smith *et al.*); Narcotic Addiction (Dr. H. Berger *et al.*); Murder (Professor Rylander *et al.*); and Frontiers of Research in Criminology (Professor Marshall Clinard *et al.*).

For details apply to:

Organizing Secretary
Third International Congress on Criminology
28 Weymouth Street, W.1

GENETICS AND THE CRIMINAL¹

By L. S. PENROSE (LONDON)

The subject of the relation of heredity to crime is one which has to be approached with the utmost caution if innumerable pitfalls which have claimed earlier investigators are to be avoided. Genetical study has been successful in dealing with well defined unit characters. Its application to complex social phenomena is much less satisfactory. Criminality is not an entity; it is even less homogeneous and less of a unit character than traits such as insanity or mental deficiency. The natural history of crime, or its systematic descriptive study, reveals some regularities but they are, on the whole, less striking than the diversity of phenomena which are grouped under this heading. Crime is a relative phenomenon and it is measured by the standards of behaviour appropriate to a particular social system at a given time and place. What may be a crime in one civilization can be the apex of good manners in another (polygamy, nudism, harikari). In taking crime as a character suitable for genetical study, we must therefore specify exactly the conditions in which it occurs. Presumably our own community, other Western European and North American communities should form the basic environment and the starting point for our own studies.

The most noteworthy biological fact concerning crime and delinquency is the preponderance of males over females, about 5 to 1; and the difference is also reflected in the types of misdemeanours characteristic of the two sexes. These facts are well known as also, indeed, is the distribution of ages of the persons convicted of crimes of different kinds. What is less often referred to is the comparison between the incidence of crime in different areas of the same continent (Penrose, 1939, 1943). In the British Isles, for example, in the year 1934, there were less than two convictions for serious crimes per thousand inhabitants, as shown in Table I. In Holland, Germany, France and Italy the corresponding figure was more than double the number of convictions and, in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary, it was more than doubled again. A difference between European and native populations is also often noticeable, as shown in the South African figures (Table II). Are we to assume from such figures that some populations, by virtue of inborn or 'racial' peculiarity, are more prone to criminal behaviour than others?

¹ An address delivered to the 10th meeting of the Scientific Group for the Discussion of Delinquency Problems.

TABLE I

Statistics from European Countries about the year 1934. Number per 1,000 inhabitants.

<i>Names of the countries in each group</i>	<i>Insane or mentally defective patients</i>	<i>Yearly convictions for serious crimes</i>	<i>Yearly deaths attributed to murder</i>
Irish Free State			
England and Wales			
Scotland	4.0	1.6	0.005
N. Ireland			
Denmark			
Sweden	3.0-4.0	2.8	0.011
Switzerland			
Holland			
Germany			
France	2.0-3.0	4.4	0.015
Norway			
Italy			
Finland	1.0-2.0	4.5	0.026
Latvia			
Czechoslovakia			
Poland	0.0-1.0	14.6	0.034
Hungary			

There are several other possible explanations. One of the most obvious is that the same types of individual are classified, or dealt with, in ways which differ greatly between one administration and another. It is most noticeable that there is an inverse ratio between the numbers of persons convicted of crime in a given country or state and the number admitted to institutions for the mentally defective and insane. In studying the familial incidence of crime, whether for sociological or for genetical purposes, it is obviously of the utmost importance to keep these facts in mind if elementary fallacies are to be avoided in drawing conclusions.

TABLE II

Institutional Population of Union of South Africa in the year 1935.

<i>Population</i>	<i>Number of inmates of mental hospitals per 1,000 of the population</i>	<i>Number of prisoners per 1,000 of the population</i>
European	3.27	0.45
Non-European	0.82	2.56

The relation of crime to mental disorder is itself a complex one. The age of the offender is an important matter here. Before the age of twenty, criminal acts are attributed not infrequently to mental deficiency and, after forty, they tend to be regarded as evidence of insanity (Table III). However, if it is thought that a criminal act is the consequence of a disordered mental state, the question arises as to whether the disorder is the result of a failure of environment or of heredity. In some cases this can be accurately known, as, for example, in the case of crimes connected with the onset of G.P.I., on the one hand, and Huntington's chorea on the other. In many instances, as, for example, in crimes connected with epileptic manifestations, the genetical and environmental causes may be very difficult to disentangle.

TABLE III

Age Groupings of Admissions to Institutions. Percentages based on United States Statistics. Years 1933 and 1934.

<i>Age group</i>	<i>Institutions for care of mentally defective</i>	<i>State and Federal Prisons</i>	<i>Institutions for care of the insane</i>
20 and below . . .	86	20	14
21-49 . . .	14	74	48
50 and above . . .	0	6	38
Total . . .	100	100	100

Nevertheless, it is in relation to specific types of insanity and mental deficiency that the only exact information about genetics and the criminal is likely to be obtained. Though, clinically, many psychiatrists would agree that a very large proportion of delinquents and criminals were psychoneurotic, if not psychopathic or psychotic, statistically the direct relation between crime

and mental illness is difficult to evaluate—particularly so in the case of mental defect. Intellectual subnormality would not, of itself, seem to be a serious cause of crime since defectives are not naturally more antisocial than people of average intelligence. They are, however, easily influenced by malefactors and are more likely to be apprehended than quicker witted associates.

The percentage of mentally defective offenders given in different surveys varies enormously. Goring (1913) showed that this was partly due to the different crimes related to specific intelligence levels. This is shown in Table IV. Taking all types together, Pailthorpe (1932) estimated that 15 per cent. were defective and Burt (1925) 8 per cent., whereas East (1944) gave a figure of only 0.5 per cent. Goddard's (1914) estimate was 55 per cent. in the United States generally, as against Thompson's (1940) 7 per cent. in New York. At the other extreme we can quote the view of Lombroso (1891)

TABLE IV
Relation of type of crime to mental grade (Goring, 1913)

<i>Crime</i>	<i>Number defective</i>	<i>Total cases</i>	<i>Percentage defective</i>
Violence to person (mostly man-slaughter, robbery with violence, etc.)	17	219	7.8
Violence to property (theft, burglary, poaching, arson, wilful damage)	58	402	14.4
Sexual offences (rape, perversion)	13	101	12.9
Fraud (forgery, embezzlement, bigamy)	7	226	3.1
All types	95	948	10.0

that complete absence of moral sense and sympathy is frequently found among men of genius and he quotes an impressive number of examples. Moreover, some types of crime, like forgery and fraud, require great skill. At least it is not likely that the study of the genetical causes of mental deficiency will, as such, throw very much light on the causes of criminal behaviour. It can be of importance from the administrative point of view.

A special kind of investigation believed to throw light upon the hereditary background of crime is exemplified by the very wide range of studies of physique which have been carried out. The idea of being able to demonstrate the existence of a criminal type of man by making observations on countenance, head shape and body build has a very strong appeal to the imagination (Penrose, 1947).

In the latter half of last century, the investigation of criminals, both from morphological and psychological points of view, became very fashionable. The study had the dignified name of Criminal Anthropology, and it is pursued even at the present time, though with much less enthusiasm than formerly. An account of the movement was given by Havelock Ellis (1890). It seems that the original impetus came from the work of anatomists like Broca, and of students of heredity like Prosper Lucas (1850) and Morel. Even Maudsley, in 1872, speaking of 'instinctive criminals', is reported to have stated that it was a matter of observation that this criminal class constituted a degenerate or morbid variety of mankind, marked by peculiarly low physical and mental characteristics. These physical characteristics were easy to observe. 'I do not need to see the whole of a criminal's face to recognize him as such' said Vidocq; 'it is enough for me to catch his eye.' Such views were supported by the observations of Dr. G. Wilson, who read a paper at the British Association in 1869 entitled 'The Moral Imbecility of Habitual Criminals as Exemplified by Cranial Measurements.' Bruce Thomson made observations on 5,000 prisoners at Perth and this survey, together with the researches of Despine, laid the foundations for the study of criminals throughout Europe, which reached its apex in the work of Lombroso (1887). The result of all these enquiries, conducted often with prodigious energy, added up to this, namely, that a great many physically and mentally abnormal human beings found their way into prisons. However, these investigations entirely failed to prove that there was anything which could be recognized as a 'criminal type'. To take one example, Galton suggested that, if the physiognomies of criminals showed a common factor characteristic of criminality, then a composite photograph should extract this quality. The exact reverse proved to be true. Composite photographs of faces of criminals, particularly those who were defective or insane, gave rise to portraits, rather pleasing and noble both in feature and expression, which would pass well for rather blurred photographs of clergymen. The factor, common to all kinds of criminals, is that they are human. There is, in fact, no 'criminal type', as emphasized by the results of Charles Goring's (1913) very complete survey made in Parkhurst Prison.

A recrudescence of old ideas in the modern cult of typology threatens again to obscure many issues and I do not believe that the introduction of the methods of Kretschmer and Sheldon are of the slightest value in the scientific study of delinquency. Straightforward measurement has repeatedly shown that delinquents and convicts are, on the average, slightly below the population mean in a variety of characters. This has been demonstrated by Goring, Hooton (1938) (criminals are 5 lb. lighter and 2 mm. shorter in stature than normals), Grapin (1954) and many others. But even these

observations tell us nothing about the cause of crime, unless indeed it be, as hinted by Goring, that the inferior physical individual is more likely to be caught by the superior physical type than *vice versa*. The inferiority is so slight as to be scarcely detectable, as shown by the head measurements taken by Goring (see Table V). Hrdlicka (1939) asserts that there are no physical differences by which prospective criminals can be recognized.

TABLE V
Head measurements (Goring, 1913)

<i>Group</i>	<i>Mean breadth</i>	<i>Mean length</i>
Convicts	151·0	192·4
General hospital inmates .	149·3	190·4
Royal Engineers . . .	151·1	193·6
Cambridge students . . .	155·4	195·6
Oxford students	154·2	197·8

The more direct attempts to study the hereditary basis of crime concern, quite rightly, the investigation of families or at least related individuals. Without some kind of family study nothing definite can be learnt about heredity but the discovery of marked familial incidence does not prove hereditary causation. Environment, both physical and mental, also runs in families, *e.g.* nutritional habits, poverty, occupational group and religion. Nevertheless it is certainly worth while to see what information is given by the results of enquiries into the familial incidence of crime.

The simplest question to ask is whether a relative of an offender has himself been convicted of crime. Early literature, cited by Ellis, was mostly concerned with records of families containing many cases of criminal behaviour. Sometimes criminal skill becomes a family tradition, as in the American Johnson family of audacious counterfeiters. Three types of relatives have been studied systematically for repetition of criminal traits, parents, ordinary brothers and sisters, and twins. With regard to parents, the information from two main sources is illuminating. In Table VI, the data are summarized. Both surveys show the characteristic preponderance of male criminals.

Among the parents of Parkhurst prisoners, Goring found that altogether 81 out of 2,856, or 5·7 per cent., had been convicted. East, Stocks and Young (1942) found only 55 convicted criminals, or 0·7 per cent., among

a possible 8,000 parents of adolescent offenders. The difference can perhaps be partly accounted for by the older ages of the parents in Goring's study. But the discrepancy is still large. One point in which both surveys agree is that there are far more cases of both parents convicted than would have been expected on the assumption of a random distribution. It may be that there is a tendency for assortative mating here, that is, people with criminal propensities tend to select partners with similar interests; or it may be that the husband and wife influence one another in a direction towards, or away from, morality. The assortative tendency for like to marry like is well known with respect to stature, eye colour, intelligence and so on, so that the same phenomenon concerning crime may be biologically important. In the data given by East *et al.* there seems also to be a strong parental assortment for other traits, such as immorality and quarrelsomeness, but the facts are not clearly enough arranged to enable this question to be closely studied.

TABLE VI

Incidence of conviction in parents of criminals

<i>Type of relative convicted</i>	<i>Goring (1913)</i>		<i>East et al. (1942)</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Both father and mother .	8	0.5	6	0.1
Father only	56	3.9	36	0.9
Mother only	9	0.6	7	0.2
Neither	1355	95.0	3951	98.8
Total	1428	100.0	4000	100.0

When both parents are criminal, as might be expected, a large proportion of the children (29 per cent.) are similarly affected. This again might be due to heredity or to environment. The phenomenon, however, is a marked one, as shown in Goring's data (Table VII). However, East *et al.* found that recidivists had a higher parental incidence of crime than first offenders. This suggests that aptitude for crime is familial: first offenders are more likely to be accidental. The examination of the distribution of criminality in brothers and sisters, irrespective of parental classification, also by itself suggests, but does not prove, that hereditary disposition is a causal factor in crime.

Specialized studies of twins have been carried out by Lange (1931) and by Rosanoff, Handy and Plesset (1941). It is clearly established that cases

can be found, where pairs of monozygotic twins are not only both criminal but also have very similar criminal histories. Unequally affected identical twins, as in almost all other surveys of physical or mental traits, are shown to be exceptional. As Lange admits, however, it is difficult to estimate whether or not the fact of being twins has caused both of them to be unfavourably influenced while alone each might have lived normally. Interpretation of these twin studies may lead to several divergent conclusions.

TABLE VII

Familial incidence of conviction for crime (Goring, 1913)

<i>Status of parents</i>	<i>Sibs of criminals</i>		
	<i>Convicted</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage convicted</i>
Both convicted . . .	9	31	29.0
One convicted . . .	19	143	13.3
Neither convicted . . .	154	3245	4.7
All types	182	3419	5.3

Galton's striking idea that identical and fraternal twins could be used for separating environmental and hereditary influences is very easy to apply but it does not always give the correct answer. To my mind the most important results of twin studies are those which describe the differences, not similarities, between identical pairs. If we take a pair of monozygotic twins and expose them to any environmental circumstance whatever, they will tend to react in the same manner (see Table VIII). They are like two cars, mass produced, from the same factory. Suppose that two such vehicles

TABLE VIII

Data on twins (Lange, 1931)

<i>Type of pair</i>	<i>Both criminal</i>	<i>One only criminal</i>
Monozygotic	10	3
Dizygotic	2	15

both break down in the same way after about the same mileage. The first thing we learn is that two cars of the same make have the same defects (which we knew already). We can infer very little about what would happen to cars of different makes in the same circumstances. And this little could be inferred from examining one car instead of a twin pair. Data from twin studies overemphasize the effects of heredity but they do also remind us that a human being is a physical entity with a chemical constitution ultimately determined genetically.

We are becoming accustomed, in human genetics, to the idea that abnormal hereditary units, or genes, act by depriving the organism of a particular enzyme. If moral sense should be determined by an enzyme, we could formally expect that a single recessive gene might account for the criminal disposition by removing this enzyme. According to Goring's analysis such a trait would only be manifested in one quarter of the homozygotes. But Lange's twins show a manifestation of 10/13, or 77 per cent., which is quite inconsistent. As usual, we have to fall back on the hypothesis of a diathesis due to more than one gene. Even so, there is great difficulty in reconciling the existing evidence with any formal genetical hypothesis.

Some special studies on the genetics of homosexuality require comment. The investigations of Lang (1940), though very incomplete, raised some interesting questions. Starting with convicted male homosexuals, as *propositi*, he counted the numbers of their brothers, sisters, half-brothers and half-sisters and he found that they had significantly too many brothers. There were also other signs of disturbed sex ratio. He inferred that these subjects were genetically female. It is known that certain types of intersexes and pseudohermaphrodites are genetically determined, some perhaps due to sex-linked genes (Kallman, Schoenfeld and Barrera, 1944) but there is little evidence that such people develop 'criminal' tendencies. Now that it is possible to test genetical sex by skin biopsy (Moore, Graham and Barr, 1953) or leucocyte count (Davidson and Smith, 1954), the Lang view is easy to test. The male homosexuals, who come into conflict with the law, are genetically males not females and they do not, according to Darke's (1948) study of 100 cases, have too many brothers.

In nearly all branches of medicine it is a matter of indifference, to the physician or surgeon who treats the case, whether or not the manifest disease is due to heredity or to environment. He does the best he can to cure the patient. But with crime it is different, there is the question of responsibility to be considered. If the delinquent is the victim of environment, it will be considered worth while to attempt to reform him by punishment, training or by therapy. Moral responsibility is attributed to the subject and the crime is considered to be due at least partly to his own free

volition. Suppose, however, that we discover criminality to be an inborn trait, an inherited form of degeneration. Then the criminal is free from blame. Born without moral sense, like primitive men or anthropoid apes, it is useless to try to correct his behaviour by punishment. This view, championed by Lombroso, does not, however, lead ultimately to a desire to improve the lot of the criminal, rather it leads to plans for his wholesale extermination. As Hooton (1938) says, 'Every racial strain (in our country) should be purified by the sterilization of its insane, diseased and criminal elements.' He concedes generously that 'the candidates for such biological extinction would not be selected on the basis of Aryan or Semitic descent, blond hair or black skin, but solely on the score of their individual physical, mental and moral bankruptcy.' Returning for a moment to the classification of parents of delinquents, made by East *et al.*, we recall that less than 7 per 1,000 were themselves criminal. It is true that there were about 12 per 1,000 rated insane and another 7 per 1,000 rated mentally defective. On the assumption that none of these indications of moral bankruptcy overlapped, one or other type was present in $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of all parents of criminals. An exhaustive sterilization programme dealing with all cases of mental disease, mental defect and crime before they started to breed would be wholly impracticable; but even if it were possible to operate it, 97 per cent. of the criminals in the next generation would be left untouched and well over 90 per cent. after a century of such efforts. Attempts to get rid of quarrelsomeness or immorality by the same methods would be equally inefficacious, according to calculations based on the figures given by the same authorities.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Human genetics is a science dealing with the recurrence in families of well defined traits. Criminality is not a suitable trait for such studies except when it is associated with a clearly defined pathological condition. Such broad familial studies as have been recorded indicate that genetical influences are probably important in criminal behaviour but very little can be learned about their nature. However, it is certain that the disposition to crime is not a single gene effect. The attempt to evade family studies and recognize individual criminals by physical traits has also been unsuccessful. Efforts to reduce the amount of criminality by sterilization on the assumption that it is inherited are not likely to have any appreciable effect.

REFERENCES

- BURT, C. (1925). 'The Young Delinquent'. London: University of London Press.
- DARKE, R. A. (1948). 'Heredity as an Etiological Factor in Homosexuality'. *J. nerv. ment. Dis.*, **107**, 251.
- DAVIDSON, W. M. and SMITH, D. R. (1954). 'A Morphological Sex Difference in the Polymorphonuclear Neutrophil Leucocytes'. *Brit. med. J.*, **2**, 6.
- EAST, W. N. (1944). 'Delinquency and Crime'. *J. ment. Sci.*, **90**, 382.
- EAST, W. N., STOCKS, P. and YOUNG, H. T. P. (1942). 'The Adolescent Criminal'. London: J. & A. Churchill.
- ELLIS, H. (1890). 'The Criminal'. London: W. Scott.
- GODDARD, H. H. (1914). 'Feeble-mindedness, its Causes and Consequences'. New York: Macmillan Co.
- GORING, C. (1913). 'The English Convict'. London: H.M.S.O.
- GRAPIN, P. (1954). 'Anthropogénèse et Criminalité'. Paris: A. Legrand et Cie.
- HOOTON, E. A. (1938). 'Apes, Men and Morons'. London: G. Allen & Unwin.
- HRDLICKA, A. (1939). 'The Criminal'. *J. crim. Psychol.*, **1**, 87.
- KALLMAN, F. J., SCHOENFELD, W. A. and BARRERA, S. E. (1944). 'Genetical Aspects of Primary Eunuchoidism'. *Amer. J. ment. Def.*, **48**, 203.
- LANG, T. (1940). 'Studies on the Genetic Determination of Homosexuality'. *J. nerv. ment. Dis.*, **92**, 55.
- LANGE, J. (1931). 'Crime as Destiny'. London: G. Allen & Unwin.
- LOMBROSO, C. (1887). 'L'homme Criminel'. Paris: Felix Alcan.
- LOMBROSO, C. (1891). 'The Man of Genius'. London: W. Scott.
- LUCAS, P. (1850). 'Traité philosophique et physiologique de l'hérédité naturelle'. Paris: Baillière.
- MOORE, K. L., GRAHAM, M. A. and BARR, M. L. (1953). 'The Detection of Chromosomal Sex in Hermaphrodites from a Skin Biopsy'. *Surg. Gynec. Obstet.*, **96**, 641.
- PAILTHORPE, G. W. (1932). 'Studies in the Psychology of Delinquency'. London: H.M.S.O.
- PENROSE, L. S. (1939). 'Mental Disease and Crime: Outline of a Comparative Study of European Statistics'. *Brit. J. med. Psychol.*, **18**, 1.
- PENROSE, L. S. (1943). 'A Note on the Statistical Relationship between Mental Deficiency and Crime in the United States'. *Amer. J. ment. Def.*, **47**, 462.
- PENROSE, L. S. (1947). 'Moral Deficiency'. *J. ment. Sci.*, **93**, 273.
- ROSANOFF, A. J., HANDY, L. M. and PLESSET, I. R. (1941). 'Etiology of Child Behaviour'. *Psychiat. Monogr.*, No. 1.
- THOMPSON, C. B. (1940). 'Effects of Incarceration on Adult Criminals as observed in Psychiatric Court Clinic'. *Ment. Hyg.*, **24**, 50.

THE SEXUAL OFFENDER :

A PRISON MEDICAL OFFICER'S VIEWPOINT ¹

By W. CALDER (LONDON)

INTRODUCTION

The prison medical officer, in addition to his general duty and obligation to all prisoners, comes into contact with those accused of sexual offences as special cases before and after trial. I employ the expression 'those accused of sexual offences' deliberately, in order to make the point at once that it is my experience that a considerable number of those charged with a sexual offence never admit their guilt or indeed any sexual abnormality either before or after trial. It is my impression that this group of offenders is tacitly forgotten by enthusiasts for treatment and cure; but while I cannot, I must admit, produce figures, I feel it forms quite an important section. The value to a man of a firm, continued denial of guilt, in dealing with his relatives, neighbours and prospective employer is obvious. As facilities for psychotherapy and other forms of treatment extend, this group may cause more concern; although this can only be a guess, it might conceivably include the most resolute offenders.

This leads me at once to another assumption which even in very well informed circles is frequently held to be self-evident—that a proven sexual charge irrespective of its nature is clear evidence of some perversion, or at least of some abnormal urge of psychiatric significance. In the shame and distress which such a charge inevitably brings on the family of the accused, it is human to look for some psychiatric cause or excuse which would relieve him and his relatives of moral if not legal responsibility. But often there is nothing to support this. Often a sexual charge indicates poor or undesirable social conditions rather than an individual abnormality. Some sexual charges indeed might almost be regarded as signs of normality.

Having carnal knowledge, for example—a charge which occurs usually more than once in the calendar of nearly every assize—as often as not merely indicates that normal sexual relations between a young man, often a very young man indeed, and a girl a little younger but below the age of

¹ The text of a lecture given to the I.S.T.D. Weekend Course for Psychiatrists, at Roffey Park, 27th June, 1954.

The author wishes to thank Dr. H. K. Snell, Director of Medical Services, the Prison Commission, for helpful criticisms, and Dr. J. J. Landers, Principal Medical Officer, H.M. Prison, Wormwood Scrubs, for guidance and help in innumerable ways. The paper is published with the consent of the Prison Commissioners but does not necessarily represent their views.

consent, have resulted in the normal way in pregnancy. The age of consent is now 16 years in this country and, as if the prisons were not already full enough, there are those who seem to want to raise it even higher! A year or two ago, the following account was given in the press of how a Justice of the Queen's Bench addressed a young lad at an Assize who pleaded guilty to a charge of carnal knowledge: 'You may wonder and many others may wonder what you are doing in that dock. A few years ago you could have married this girl as you wished to do and lived happily ever after. Parliament in its wisdom has made you a criminal. You may go.' Men, young and old, who appear on this charge, cannot count on being so lucky, however, for most judges enforce the law more sternly, holding no doubt that Parliament intended it to be observed.

Incest is another charge which, with more excuse perhaps, gives rise to insistent claims that the prisoner is abnormal—often, I suspect, because of the heavy penalty to which the prisoner has made himself liable. (Those who protest that our laws on sexual matters are mere archaic remnants of mediæval penalties may like to reflect that incest became a criminal offence in this country in 1908.) Many such men have large families, and frequently there is no doubt that they have lived from early manhood very normal and often hyperactive heterosexual lives. Often they are sub-cultural types, deficient in hygiene and living in overcrowded conditions with wives ailing and weakened by repeated childbirth, and young daughters living in indecent proximity to them day and night. At least, that is the impression one gets in prison; but it may be inaccurate. It may be that in the higher income groups the wife and mother (who usually discovers this crime) is not so much inclined to resort to the police as her less fortunate sisters, realizing better the social and financial catastrophe which the imprisonment of the breadwinner almost inevitably causes. It is very probable, therefore, that incest is a much more common evil and much less limited to one social group than the number of convictions might suggest.

A large proportion of sexual offenders, who come into prison on remand or to serve a sentence, are charged with indecent assault. This charge of course covers a large number of acts with a sexual bent. I once heard a judge at an assize define indecent assault to a jury as an interference of a sexual nature which may range from little more than an unmannerly touch which happens to be resented, to brutally savage attacks. Such acts, if directed toward a member of the same sex, are almost invariably held to indicate abnormality; though perhaps magistrates and doctors in drawing this conclusion do not always make enough allowance for the horseplay and crude form of humour that appeal to some subcultural types, even to-day. But some of these minor heterosexual charges, brought against

youths especially, may signify, I think, merely a misconception of a girl's attitude to these things. In most cases of course no such simple explanation is tenable or even arguable.

Another offence, grave no matter from what aspect it is viewed, is rape. This charge also is apt to lead to a request (from justices, probation officers, social workers and others) for an examination for psychiatric or abnormal factors; and rightly so. For some of these men do admit, and sometimes boldly boast of, powerful urges to take women by force; and awkward problems they create. But my experience is that the majority of cases of rape require no such interpretation to explain the commission of a crime which all civilized people abhor. There is often a fairly typical concatenation of events—encouraging and stimulating company earlier in the evening, a lonely road and/or darkness, opportunity and alcohol, often a lot of alcohol. I would not care to be drawn into a discussion on the involved and intricate question of drunkenness and responsibility; but my impression is that these men while on remand have little to say (*after* they have had a talk with their counsel) about the alcohol they imbibed. Alcohol is one of the factors in this and other serious crimes which may never be mentioned in court because it is thought to be unhelpful, perhaps even hurtful, to the defence; but the omission gives a distorted picture. That there are unmotivated crimes I do not seek to deny; but many crimes that appear unmotivated and senseless to those who read about them in the press, or even listen to the trial in court, have quite a simple explanation for those who have the opportunity of interviewing the prisoner and studying the depositions.

If I have given the impression that I believe no sexual charge has any psychiatric significance, I hasten to correct it. If we leave the tremendous problem of homosexuality aside for the moment, there are certain other offences which by their very occurrence put the existence of a sexual deviation in the prisoner beyond all doubt. There are, as you know, the exposeurs, the fetishists who snip girls' hair in crowds or steal their underwear from clothes lines, the peeping-toms who peer through lighted windows by night and seem to arouse more public antagonism than more dangerous criminals, the men who slit girls' raincoats in crowded tube trains with safety razor blades, or types like one I have seen who fitted a razor blade edge into the toe of his boot to damage women's fashionable shoes in public vehicles. It is plain of course that no means of discovering the real cause is worth contemplating here, other than deep analysis. In pre-trial cases one has of necessity to limit one's investigation to what is on the conscious plane. No one would attempt to deny that these unfortunate men have abnormal urges; some of us doubt, however, if they have irresistible urges. I have interviewed an intelligent man who suddenly exposed his genitalia to the

shopping crowds in Oxford Street, but in most cases the evidence of an impulsive and compulsive act is less convincing. I have no doubt that at least some exposeurs scheme carefully and search diligently to find a suitable spot in a suitable park and make long journeys there to gratify their admittedly abnormal urges. Very occasionally a peeping-tom will combine pleasure with business and finding the house which he frequents in darkness at a week end will break in and steal, not only articles of sexual significance from a lady's bedroom, but any pound notes she has left around. The underwear thieves will occasionally go to all lengths and break into a house to obtain feminine garments; and this is serious, for he who breaks and enters is of course a felon, and if not a juvenile is tried at quarter sessions or assize, and not in a magistrates' court. Sometimes they ruin the medical side of their case by taking other costly articles and later selling them. It is possible that the fetishistic sexual attraction is not just for feminine garments but for feminine garments that have been worn. This would explain the risks which these men run at times to obtain articles most of which they could fairly easily purchase in the ordinary way at any store. I have observed by the way that at out-patient clinics attended by these men the extreme legal gravity of a housebreaking charge is not always appreciated.

HOMOSEXUALITY

Apart from stressing a few points that have occurred to me or have attracted my notice in the sayings or writings of others, I will not attempt to deal at length with homosexuality, though no prison medical officer can be indifferent to the formidable problem it creates. While I am personally convinced, as I have endeavoured to make clear, that many men charged with offences against the opposite sex are not perverted or in any way abnormal, I have never been able to make myself believe the same about homosexual charges. With the possible exception of a half-drunk or mentally defective man who may be legally compromised by a pervert, I am inclined to the view that all adults found participating in, or admitting to, a homosexual act deviate appreciably from the normal. I cannot bring myself to the belief that even in ships long at sea, or in a space ship to the moon if you like, any man would indulge in, or submit to, such behaviour if he were not afflicted with tendencies in that direction which the ordinary man has not. I speak very diffidently, realizing that against me is the great authority and experience of the late Sir Norwood East. East gives the now common definition of perversion: 'A true sexual perversion may be regarded as sexual activity in which complete satisfaction is obtained without the necessity of heterosexual intercourse.' And in his 'Society and the Criminal' East says: 'If the usual definition of a sexual perversion is accepted, many

homosexual offenders are not sexual perverts. For example, those who indulge in homosexuality as an adventure, as a substitute when long deprived by circumstances of ordinary sexual relationships, as a temporary convenience, and as a result of a surfeit of experience in heterosexual relationships or fear of venereal disease.'

My former colleague and instructor, Dr. F. Hayden Taylor, now Regional Psychiatrist to the South West Metropolitan Board, in an article published in the *British Medical Journal* of October 4th, 1947, strongly supported this point of view. Taylor classified homosexuals he saw into 4 groups: true invert, bisexuals, prostitutes and pseudo-homosexuals. Of 96 homosexuals studied in his article Taylor says that no less than 66 were in the pseudo-homosexual group! And he defines a pseudo-homosexual as one 'in whom the homosexual offence was in the nature of a substitution for the normal heterosexual act'.

The charges brought against homosexuals are usually limited and fairly stereotyped, namely, importuning male persons, gross indecency in a public place, indecent assault usually on boys or lads, buggery, or attempted buggery. It is not uncommon for a man charged with one of these offences to admit acts which could have placed him in the dock on all the other charges; though of course this is not known to the court. Whether a homosexual appears before a magistrate on the minor charge of importuning or before an assize judge on a charge of buggery (which can be, but never is, punished with imprisonment for life), is often largely a matter of chance.

In an article in the *Practitioner* of April, 1954, the Chief Constable of Nottingham writes: 'We know that homosexuality is beginning to eat into the very vitals of the nation like a cancer,' and others in a position to know have said likewise. According to the report of the Commissioners of Prisons, in 1913 there were 162 males imprisoned in England and Wales for indictable homosexual offences and bestiality. In 1950 there were 589 and in 1951 there were 684. Apart from such statistical factors as population increase, I think there are simple explanations of this. In this century the Boy Scout and allied movements have grown up along with Church and other welfare youth organizations; and in recent years the cadet corps has sprung into being. Residential schools are now available to the physically handicapped child, the educationally backward, the maladjusted and the delinquent. The good these organizations and institutions do is beyond human reckoning; but they also place tremendous temptation in the way of men who are striving to sublimate their own impulses by humanitarian and social work, as well as (let us not blind ourselves) giving opportunities to the abandoned and unscrupulous pervert of good presence and education.

Again, greatly increased urbanization has made it more and more necessary to insist on proper standards of decency in crowded public places, even if that means suffering to individuals. I suggest we have sufficient causes here to account for the increased number of charges without assuming either that we are becoming a nation of perverts, or on the other hand that someone is organizing a witch hunt—as the pervert and his apologists have recently tried to hint. However, urbanization is increasing at a tremendous rate and is likely to increase further, and we all hope that welfare youth organizations and residential schools will gain in number and public support. Therefore, I consider that the lot of the homosexual is likely to get harder as time goes on, and the laws against him to tighten rather than relax.

Another argument frequently advanced by those who seek to exculpate the pervert is that his assaults on boys are a substitute gratification for sexual relations with adult fellow homosexuals, in which he could indulge freely did not the law so unreasonably ban and punish them. The inference of course is that, if homosexual acts between adult males, even sodomy, were legalized, the seduction and pollution of boys would greatly diminish. If valid, this is a cogent argument for the amendment of the law. But it is my opinion that it is founded on false premises. Except perhaps in the case of constitutional homosexuals who are usually distinguished by effeminate physique and mannerisms and a voice in the female register, I think that the term 'invert' is a misnomer, perhaps a deceptive and dangerous misnomer. It carries with it the suggestion of a complete turning-over—that instead of a physically mature female this unfortunate has for his ideal sexual object a physically mature male. It is admittedly difficult to ascertain even from heterosexuals the ideal sexual object of any individual: but I have come to the conclusion, from interviews, that the homosexual very seldom feels himself attracted by preference to a physically mature male. No. I fear the change-over is incomplete; and that in most cases all the force of a homosexual's libido is directed toward males who still retain some female characteristics and traits—to boys and youths. If I am right in this, an alteration of the law to sanction sexual acts between adult males would be a mere gesture that would affect only a very few and solve nothing.

Still another viewpoint that I have heard brought forward occasionally (not often, I am glad to say) by medical men is that homosexual interference does little harm to boys unless the boys already have proclivities in that direction; the suggestion being that much fuss is being made about very little. That is not the view of prisoners I have interviewed. Most of them speak bitterly of having been seduced in late boyhood by other lads at school, by men in parks, occasionally by relatives, and perhaps most of all by responsible and sometimes professional men whose duty it was to protect

them. Many of them have no doubt that these assaults in boyhood turned their sexual desires into a wrong channel.

A point that is sometimes made, but on which I do not think much time need be spent, is that the law is inequitable between men and women, homosexual acts between women not being punishable. Paradoxically, this argument is usually a favourite with those who believe that men should not be punished, and is presumably intended to demonstrate that the law is illogical. But is this so? It is difficult to say how many practising male homosexuals seduce the young: but it can be safely asserted that the percentage is big enough to make it a reasonable probability that, when a court imprisons or otherwise segregates a man convicted of sodomy or gross indecency, it is protecting some boy from harm. But how often have you heard of a woman interfering sexually with little girls? I suggest very seldom, if ever.

A group of homosexual offenders which perhaps arouses more sympathy than most is that of men convicted of importuning male persons. Usually nothing has happened or the charge would be more serious. Some of these men are grossly, indeed offensively effeminate; but there is another group of cultured men of good education who show few overt signs of homosexuality. These arrests are usually made in public conveniences and one cannot but ask oneself what caused these men to behave in such a way, in such a place. Some have their higher control weakened by alcohol, and this is often at least a partial explanation. Another suggestion is that it is the unsavoury but very characteristic odour of these places that has a stimulating and exciting effect on homosexuals. I do not know if those skilled in analysis have found any corroboration of this. If it is true it stresses how appallingly different these men are from the rest of us, even in a quality as elementary as the olfactory sense. I cannot claim that the suggestion is original: it was made to me by a non-medical man of great experience.

TREATMENT

I will not presume to attempt any discussion of the details of therapy. But I would like to refer first to a few general principles and points in the management of these cases, then to the general management of sexual offenders serving sentences in prison, and then to say a few words about psychotherapy in prison.

The case for treatment is often put forward as if there were a simple choice—treatment by medical men or callous sentences by courts of law. But working in prisons, or sitting in the higher courts, one sees things from a different angle. Perversion, particularly homosexuality, is, I agree, a matter for doctors entirely; though not all medical men would assent even to that. But it is equally certain that a breach of trust leading to harm to

others, irrespective of its cause, is a matter for lawyers. And what strikes me in so many of these cases is the appalling breach of trust involved, often by men of good education and social status. Boys are taken in charge, instructed in or even coerced into the practices of vice, and threatened as to the consequences should they divulge what is going on. In one case I saw recently the boy was made to swear solemn oaths on the Bible to keep silent. One would think that no one would contend seriously that this is not primarily a matter for a court of justice. But clearly there are other views. In a recent article in the *Practitioner* Dr. Neustatter quotes Kraft-Ebbing, who says: 'The pervert may need to be segregated to protect the community as is the patient with cholera, but he is no more to be condemned for his disorder than the latter is, for sexual psychopathies are illnesses.' I should have thought it would be more apt to compare the pervert to a typhoid carrier than to a cholera patient. Writing in the *Lancet* of March 22nd, 1947, in an ethical study Dr. Stanley-Jones, if I understand him aright, advises that when a boy patient is found to have been sexually assaulted, the doctor whose help is sought should not tell the parents to call in the police but should seek out the adult culprit himself, and arrange treatment for him. It is true, however, that Dr. Stanley-Jones does say that each doctor must decide according to the dictates of his own conscience. Perhaps this recommendation indicates that there is a considerable difference between the homosexuals who seek help at out-patient clinics and those who are seen in prison—that the latter are, as one would expect, more depraved. Even so, I think a doctor who acted on Dr. Stanley-Jones's advice might easily find himself in a thoroughly unsavoury and dangerous situation.

Whether one agrees with Dr. Stanley-Jones or not, there is no doubt that as soon as a sexually abnormal person, a homosexual or any other, is charged with an actual offence an entirely new situation has to be faced; or, in slang language, 'a spanner is thrown into the works'. With all the goodwill possible it is dubious if the doctor-patient relationship can remain the same. And here I would like to say a few words, not about the treatment given to sexual cases in clinics, which I have no doubt is above reproach, but about the general advice given to patients. Experience makes one reluctant to rely on a patient's account of what passed between his doctor and himself; but so many prisoners have spoken to me in similar terms that I have wondered if at some clinics workers are not deceiving themselves and, unwittingly, their patients. One swallow does not make a summer, but perhaps one example will explain what I mean. A man who had been interfering with children in his care consulted a psychiatrist of his acquaintance in a semi-professional capacity. He was told that he should explain his difficulty to his superior whose duty, according to the psychiatrist, was to help him. He

was further advised that, even if he was taken to court, all he had to do was to call a psychiatrist and ask for treatment. He was told that nowadays nobody believed that men like him should be punished for what was really an illness; and, best of all, that the judge would not dare to send him to prison. He was very shocked indeed when the judge promptly gave him a long sentence without a protest from anyone. It was later reduced by the Court of Criminal Appeal, but he was still left with a long time to serve. He was convicted on his own confession, and it is probable that if he had consulted a lawyer instead of a doctor he would never have seen a prison wall. That is a gross example; but I have heard prisoners say they have been told that they must not be surprised or dejected if they yield to their urges occasionally. I think it only right that the patient should also be informed that if he does yield to temptation he will be committing another offence against the law, and that, if detected, especially if he is already on probation, his predicament may be very serious. The physician naturally sees his patient as a homosexual, and to him an act of importuning and an act of buggery are both lapses. It is tragic, however, if the unfortunate patient also fails to appreciate the legal distinction—that the former is to the latter, as exceeding the speed limit is to manslaughter on the highway. I feel, too, that the hope of a change in the law may be a stumbling-block to some unfortunates. I think it is wise to remember that laws can change in either of two directions. I believe it is a fact that in the post-war years the maximum penalty for attempted rape has been increased, and perhaps that is a pointer to the way the wind is likely to blow.

Interviewing sexual offenders, both convicted and unconvicted, who admit a consistent trend which can be called perverse, I frequently have a feeling of having arrived too late. Here, one feels, is no repressed sexuality—or at least, if there is much submerged, there is also a great deal that is very much on the surface. One gets the impression that the abnormal urges from the unconscious have been accepted by these men—reluctantly and with bitterness and tears and sorrow perhaps—but accepted nevertheless. I often feel that they have summed up the situation and made their own appreciation of it. Like Caesar, they have crossed the Rubicon and they know the way they have to go.

Continuously overshadowing the whole conception of treatment is the awesome spectre of intellectual dullness. It is hopeless to inform a court that a man is unintelligent and only semi-literate and then proceed to recommend psychotherapy for him. It is natural enough also for clinic physicians to ask if the patient one wants them to receive is intelligent enough to benefit by the measures they are in the habit of employing; and so often the answer has to be in the negative. What *is* to be done with these

cases? Advice is given periodically (I think it occurred even in the early editions of Tredgold's classic) that the I.Q. should be ignored and borderline cases who are socially incompetent or recidivists certified as defective. In these days when beds often cannot be found for gross cases of mental deficiency, this counsel of perfection is hopelessly unpractical—and in any event one would have to carry out certification (except in cases of the gravest crimes) in the teeth of the opposition of the prisoner, his counsel and his relatives. Are those dull people in any way treatable? If not, a grave problem arises that could be disastrous for the whole concept of treatment, not only for sexual but for all offenders: it is this. Those more intelligent, highly educated men who are most suitable for psychotherapy are apt to come from the higher income groups; the more dull and less literate men come as a rule from a less fortunate section of the community. May not this dangerous situation develop? Psychotherapy and the clinic for the better educated: prison or segregation in some colony for the less fortunate! One law for the rich and one for the poor! We all know what the public reaction will be to that, and I think it is a problem we should discuss and face. The view is current that punishment is only morally permissible and defensible if it is likely to have a deterrent effect on the offender and/or others. I am not going to attempt to argue this point now, though I think it can be argued. If we accept deterrence as the only goal then it is very likely that the lightest restriction, even conviction itself, may have a salutary effect on an intelligent man, while a duller man may require sterner action to impress on him the will of society. But it is very unlikely that public opinion would tolerate such an argument. I do not know how the success or failure of either punishment or treatment can ever be measured satisfactorily and convincingly. That men who have been fined, or imprisoned, or treated, or all three, are not re-convicted can only mean that they have had no fresh charge brought against them—nothing more. It is possible, too, that some men experience a subjective benefit from therapy, even though there is no objective evidence of amendment of their mode of life. I doubt, however, if that is what judges have in mind when they ask if treatment is likely to help the man in the dock. And there is no means of assessing the possible restraining influence that severe sentences on the convicted may have on the vast number of people there must be in the community with sadistic and other abnormal urges. One imagines the effect must be considerable.

MANAGEMENT OF THE SEXUAL OFFENDER IN PRISON

I think a few words are advisable about the general management of the sexual pervert serving a sentence in prison. For help and guidance in this,

as in many other matters, I am grateful to my principal medical officer at Wormwood Scrubs, Dr. Landers, who is able to call upon a vast experience of over 30 years' service, mainly in medical charge of large establishments. In the opinion of prison medical officers, I think I can safely say, certainly in Dr. Landers' opinion and my own, this problem is unnecessarily magnified in the minds of many well-meaning people. We would not attempt to argue that prison is an ideal place for the homosexual, for it is really only with this group that trouble is liable to arise in closed prisons. But the common belief that homosexual misconduct is widespread in prison we regard as unfounded; such a thing is almost, if not quite, impossible. Cases for disposal to open prisons are reviewed by the Governor and senior Medical Officer, and of course any flagrant offender, who would be likely to endanger public safety or offend public decency if he absconded, is not sent. On the other hand, incest cases and men guilty of carnal knowledge of one individual girl friend below the age of consent, where no question of violence arises, would not be refused the privilege of open conditions. In each case, of course, consideration is given not only to the offence for which the sentence is being served, but to the prisoner's record of previous convictions, if any. The homosexual most likely to be a danger is not one who has been convicted of a sexual offence, but one who is serving a sentence for other crimes quite unrelated to his sexuality. Every known homosexual has a single cell; under no circumstances would he be put into a multiple cell. Two men in a cell is not allowed in any prison: there must be three men together, and this is obviously designed to guard against various other dangers and not only against the practices of vice. During the day nearly all prisoners out of their cells are, or should be, under constant observation, and any man found where he had no right to be would soon be challenged and called to account. During the night the halls are constantly patrolled and all cell doors are fitted with inspection apertures. I need not tell you that all prisoners have considerable remission for good conduct and, in the case of short-term men particularly, that is clearly an over-riding thought in their minds; they are slow to run any risk of losing it. A homosexual act would certainly be a breach of discipline. Dr. Landers, out of his great experience, tells me that long-term prisoners, 'old lags' if you like, tend to despise the homosexual in their midst, and the homosexual fails to make any headway with them. The hardened recidivist has many unpleasant traits and failings, but he is not usually a pervert.

In open camps the prisoners sleep in groups in huts or dormitories, and the staff are smaller in number and less conspicuous. It would be idle to deny that opportunity for homosexual acts would be greater in these conditions. But this of course means that the farther away we get from strict

confinement, the more likely is such misconduct—a risk that you may think is quite justifiably taken. We rely mainly on our selection methods, and an important point is that the men are together in fairly large groups and that in each group there will be some, perhaps a majority, who have as strong views on this matter as people outside. Our experience is that in a prison ward, for example, other men soon object to any unhygienic and undesirable individual in their midst, and are not slow to demand his expulsion. I do not think myself for one moment that a group of the type of men we select for an open camp would stand for perverted behaviour going on in their presence. We rely also on selection in the main to insure against escapes and sexual assaults being made on ordinary citizens and children.

PSYCHOTHERAPY IN PRISON

I do not think that the problems of actual treatment in prison differ essentially from the problems of treatment under more favourable conditions. Courts frequently make special recommendations for treatment for sexual offenders, either of their own accord or because of pleas made to them by the defence, and quite properly so. But the plea in court for treatment in a sex case, like a plea of insanity in a capital case, is, I am afraid, often put forward by the accused merely because there is no other arguable defence. It is quite common for such men, having been refused treatment instead of prison, in their turn to decline prison and treatment together, and to take no interest in their condition after sentence. Many of these men are dull and educationally retarded and psychotherapy for them is out of the question, in or out of prison. Others are so given over to vice that little can be done for them even if they desired it; or, if they are homosexuals, they show such gross stigmata that even the most optimistic cannot but think that their urges have a genetic or at least a constitutional basis and are unalterable.

Surprising though it may seem even to-day, there are justices and others who appear to think that doctors, if they put their mind to it, can produce something equivalent to a complete conversion, irrespective of the desires and co-operation of the prisoner. The whole question of the present and anticipated position concerning psychotherapy in prisons was gone into by the Medical Director, Dr. H. K. Snell, at the Fourth International Course in Criminology this year; and it is expected that the position and projected scheme at Wormwood Scrubs will be dealt with by my Principal Medical Officer, Dr. Landers, and the two visiting psychotherapists, Dr. Macphail and Dr. Simpson, in a paper to be published shortly. Dr. Mackwood's long association with Wormwood Scrubs will, of course, be well known. I will content myself with saying a few words about the framework at Wormwood Scrubs at present. There are two visiting therapists and all ordinary physical

measures except insulin can be used as required. Any prisoner requiring deep insulin therapy would have to be released, on a voluntary basis or otherwise, to a mental hospital. All cases presented for treatment are given preliminary interviews by one of the medical officers before being passed to the visiting psychotherapists. Prolonged analysis, mainly on Jungian lines, is given to a small number of prisoners and a larger number are subjected to less intensive treatment. The emphasis, however, is on group therapy, the group consisting of twelve prisoners. It is probable that the individual members of the group have nothing in common except their sex and the fact that a psychotherapist has accepted them for treatment. They vary in age from lads under 21 to men in late middle life, in education from unskilled labourers to professional men; and they vary likewise in the nature of their offences, the length of their sentences, and the number of their previous convictions. The group is virtually closed and its members live together for 24 hours out of 24. They work in the same workshops and sleep in the same ward of 12 beds. Actual treatment is on lines comparable with those at Belmont and in American clinics. But I understand there appear to be several exclusive features, of which the prolonged close relationship is probably one. There are frequent group sessions and discussion groups and psycho-drama sessions; but it would be pointless for me to bore you with details of measures in which many here are authorities. Sexual offenders are not catered for specially, but sex cases, including homosexuals, are admitted to the group freely and a considerable number of those under treatment are in fact sex cases.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

In conclusion, I should like to revert to a point which I tried to make earlier. That the lot of the sexually abnormal man is hard, I think few would attempt to deny. So many in discussions on this question seem to make the issue of debate: '*Should* his lot be made easier?' But I submit that the practical question is: '*Can* it be made easier?' Let us consider the exposeur as an example. A man who exposed himself to women 200 years ago may have had some robust measures applied to him by the crowd. But I doubt if he was ever dragged before a magistrate. I doubt if the exhibitionist was ever charged with insulting a female, unless he performed his antics before the lady of the manor, or some other lady of comparable status. To-day, with improvements in education, culture and social conditions, there is no woman so humble that she does not feel herself entitled to be protected against that sort of misbehaviour; so the police are promptly called. For the homosexual, modern conditions make life harder still. It is meaningless to tell us, in 1954, that sodomy was a permissible and laudable habit in

Ancient Greece—just as meaningless as to tell us that incest was punished with death in Ancient Babylon. How many writers who mention these historical facts choose to tell us also that in progressive Switzerland ordinary adultery (certain conditions being fulfilled) was made punishable with imprisonment in 1937. We live in large, crowded, congested cities which yearly grow more crowded and more congested. More and more laws and bye-laws have to be passed to protect public decency, and laws and bye-laws by their very nature must have penalties appended for those who disregard or violate them. More and more children have to leave or be taken from their homes to go to institutions—I will not specify any one type of institution. Parents rightly expect that men who are appointed to the staff of such institutions shall be responsible men, fit to weigh their words and actions and fit to receive condign punishment if they betray their trust. That is one reason, I think, why defences conducted on psychiatric lines so seldom succeed, especially in higher courts. Their validity is not disputed, but other considerations outweigh them in practical and social importance. If my conjecture is correct, sanctions against the sexually abnormal are bound to increase, even against the personal wishes of legislators, judges, magistrates, and even the public. This would be in accord with much that is happening to-day when there is a multiplicity of laws concerning motoring, taxation, licensing hours, for example, of which many of us would express disapproval if asked a direct question. But they are enforced without much protest because we can devise no workable alternatives to them. We all know how little elbow room the legal standards of responsibility leave for arguing in a court of law the irresistible impulse and the importance of urges from the unconscious. If we regard the legal system as a great mountain of rock, then the M'Naghten Rules with their emphasis on personal responsibility are not a projection from it, nor an excrescence to be lopped off, but an outcrop—an outcrop of a stratum that winds its way down to the very foundation of law itself. It cannot be eradicated except by some atom-bomb-like explosion which would destroy all law as we know it.

I will leave it at that: I can only say that that is my impression. What then is the doctor's duty in such a scheme of things? I do not think it differs from our duty at any time—to undertake radical curative treatment if possible, if it is not possible to treat symptoms (anxiety, for example), at worst to advise. Any sexually abnormal patient known to be in charge of children or youths must be advised, and if necessary sternly warned, to resign his appointment no matter how great the financial loss to him may be. There would seem to be every need for a campaign on the lines of what is being done against venereal disease, tuberculosis and diphtheria, so that all these men may know there are centres where their difficulties can be discussed

without fear of rebuff, even if their problems cannot be resolved. Not only does the pervert bring shame and ruin on himself, but often on his family; and he may do immeasurable harm to others. I therefore suggest that the question of priority of treatment at clinics should be very carefully weighed; I think the sexually abnormal should have priority over most psychoneurotics and perhaps even over some psychotics. Every case the prison doctor sees should be regarded as a medical failure—in prophylaxis at least—for, as I have said, once the case becomes a legal one, a thousand and one considerations arise, which usually of necessity dwarf the psychiatric point of view. Priority even for mental hospital beds might be considered—for those men the psychiatrist thinks are likely to get into trouble. If these measures fail, or are not sufficiently effective, then we can turn our minds to what is euphemistically called ‘detention for an indeterminate period in a non-penal institution run on hospital lines’; if, that is, despite the antagonisms which the Lunacy, and especially the Mental Deficiency Acts, have brought upon us, we still feel it our professional duty as doctors to support this further encroachment on the liberty of the subject.



The essence of punishment, then, as distinct from revenge, is that it is the reaction of a community against a constituent member, not of one member or group of members against another. The community has three interests to consider: first, the maintenance of its own life and order, upon which the welfare of all its members depends; secondly, the interest of the individual members generally; and thirdly, the interest of the offending member himself. I believe that this is the true, indeed the necessary, order of priority. But wrong is done if any of the three is neglected. In particular it is to be noticed that though the interest of the offender comes last, yet if this be neglected, the action taken loses its quality of punishment and deteriorates into vengeance. . . .

From ‘The Ethics of Penal Action’ by the late Archbishop Dr. William Temple. The First Clarke Hall Lecture, 1934, pp. 22–3.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE RESIDENTIAL PSYCHOTHERAPY OF MALADJUSTED OR DELINQUENT CHILDREN

LEONARD BLOOM (LONDON)

The increasingly urgent need for psychological treatment of the young delinquent or neurotic has begun to force into the realm of heresy the doctrine enunciated by Dr. David Stafford-Clark in his Penguin Book, 'Psychiatry To-day'—that for its success psychotherapy relies 'upon the establishment of a working relationship between doctor and patient; and this in turn implies a capacity on the doctor's part to manage this relationship with tact, honesty, integrity and detachment . . . it must permit him (the doctor) to make the best possible use of his concern for his patient's health and happiness by preserving intact the judgment and clear-sightedness about the patient and his problems which can only come if the therapist is not himself emotionally involved. This is why it is absolutely impossible for the psychiatrist to treat successfully or even competently intimate friends or members of his own family. Moreover . . . it is eminently desirable that he should have as little social contact with his patient outside the treatment relationship as possible.'

At Red Hill School, Maidstone, Kent, is undertaken the residential psychological treatment and grammar-school education of forty-five boys of superior intelligence, aged from eleven to seventeen, who are suffering or recovering from any of the range of emotional or behaviour problems which are common to the child guidance clinic. Therefore, Red Hill is theoretically vulnerable to the dangers which Dr. Stafford-Clark had in mind and, in addition, it has the problem of combining the discipline of academic and social education with the freedom needed for psychotherapy. In any school for emotionally disturbed children, at which more or less formal psychotherapy is carried on, the policy of keeping aloof from the child-patient becomes an impossibility; instead, the problem must be posed more positively. It is possible so to understand the undesirable aspects of living with a group of children-patients that these aspects may be guarded against, or, if possible, turned to creative use?

Edward Glover (1) writes that 'psychological illness is . . . an unsuitable compromise between instincts and the internal and external forces that oppose them, in other words, a form of maladjustment to life'. He con-

tinues: 'Successful treatment . . . depends on the reduction of stresses set up in the psychic apparatus: radical cure involves a permanent correction of the particular unbalance of instinct forces which has brought about the disorder: the influence of the (pre)conscious depends on the underlying unconscious psychic dispositions of the individual.' There are, therefore, two facets of the problem of helping the emotionally disturbed child: (i) to correct his psychic unbalance, which is the task of *formal* psychotherapy; (ii) to present him with a benign social environment in which he may renew his relations with external society and which will offer him the opportunity to achieve the satisfaction of 'fitting in' and contributing to the world of his fellows. He has to learn to trust again and this is, in essence, the task of *informal* psychotherapy. Although formal and informal psychotherapy are equally essential in residential treatment, the former is recognized and understood to be a standard part of treatment by most workers in the field, while the latter is but dimly recognized and is often completely misunderstood.

At Red Hill School *formal psychotherapy* is undertaken by the founder and principal, Otto L. Shaw, and by another member of his staff, both of whom are lay psycho-analysts who have private and confidential therapeutic sessions with children. But not all the children need frequent and intensive therapy: at any time, of the forty-five boys about eight need daily sessions, more are seen twice a week and most of the others come spontaneously when they want to see their therapist. In about fifteen cases genial friendship and guidance—moral, social and personal—is sufficient to help the child. All children understand the absolute confidence of the therapeutic sessions and great care is taken to avoid any suspicion that 'analysis' (as the children call it) is merely another method of getting out of the boy details of his naughtiness or delinquency. Great care is taken by the psychotherapist to avoid, as far as possible, disciplinary collisions with an analysand. The school has a consultant psychiatrist who interviews any boy who may be excessively and continuously depressed, or who resists treatment, or shows some inexplicable and unexpected reactions, and (where appropriate) use is made of such specialized hospital departments as the E.E.G. unit of the Maudsley Hospital. There is a timetable for therapeutic sessions which is by the day and not by day and hour, because it is felt better to continue a session to a suitable moment—be it for twenty minutes or a couple of hours—than to stop artificially by the clock. These sessions come before all other activities, including lessons, and it is interesting that a resistance is sometimes shown by the boy's asking to stay in his class when he is called by his therapist—even when it is obvious that he has no interest in the lesson at all. This situation is avoided, when necessary, by an arrangement behind the scenes

with the teacher. However, this rarely causes conflict between the therapeutic and academic needs of the child for two reasons: (i) the child can rarely settle down to class work until his malaise is alleviated and (ii) the highest academic group is usually of boys whose need for intensive and frequent therapy has ended.

The time a child stays at the school varies according to his degree of instability and to his educational needs; these do not necessarily agree. In general, it is found that the optimum stay is about four years because it takes this time for the child to resolve his emotional conflicts and to make his re-adjustment so integral a part of his personality that there is no (or little) danger of his relapse. This means that a child coming to the school at about twelve or thirteen may stay on until he is sixteen, by which time he is a stable person and ought, ideally, either to stay to continue his education or to leave to finish his education elsewhere if (a) facilities can be provided for him and (b) he can be found a suitable home or home-substitute. In any event, it is irresponsible to uproot a child who has settled at a school happily and who can finish his education there. It is, moreover, thoughtless folly to suppose that any shorter average period (however convenient administratively) can be dogmatically decreed so that one may be certain that a child's malaise is cured. There are, of course, 'snap-cures' and a few children have to be removed from the school (after a period of observation) because they are unsuitable or because of the persistent and dangerous interference of their parent or guardian. The 'snap-cures' are usually of those children whose malaise is a reaction to deprivation of the normal outlets of boyhood and who need to regress and to grow-up again, or those who, having no satisfactory parents, need adult parent surrogates from whom they may have the affection and guidance they lack and upon whom they may build parent imagos.

The technique of formal psychotherapy is not unlike that used in other institutions except, possibly, that the therapist makes more use of the child's pictures and other æsthetic creations. For this reason alone, spontaneous and 'free' artistic activity is given a very high place on the academic timetable and is warmly encouraged in the children's leisure time as a recreation or hobby.

Psychotherapy (it would probably be widely agreed) is a technique that is suitable almost exclusively for the child of average-plus or superior intelligence, because it demands a degree of verbal ability and intellectual co-operation very rarely possessed by the child of lower intelligence; it has therefore been the policy of Red Hill to accept only children of superior or very superior intelligence. By August 1953 the mean I.Q. was 132.5 with an S.D. of 12. There were then:

<i>Number of Boys</i>					<i>I.Q. range</i>
6	.	.	.	.	110 to 120
17	.	.	.	.	120 to 130
11	.	.	.	.	130 to 140
7	.	.	.	.	140 to 150
2	.	.	.	.	150 to 160
2	.	.	.	.	160 to 170

Since August 1953 the lower I.Q. groups have dwindled and the higher have increased.

Although the technique of formal psychotherapy is not unusual, the material produced in the analytic session by the highly intelligent boy may be very much out of the common run, as in this example from an analytic session with a boy of fourteen, I.Q. 140 plus, in which the psychotherapist 'when analysing a painting (had) to recognize a misquotation from a French poem, a mistake in a discussion of the allotropic modifications of phosphorus and sulphur, both of which related to a conception of the analysand's of Aston's work in Isotopes, and all these matters then fitted together into an unconscious expression of certain conflicts about a sexual issue.'

Perhaps the primary difficulty in living among children whose emotional difficulties one is trying to solve is the obvious danger that the therapist and adult may too readily become emotionally involved in the child's problems. This often takes the form of the adult's identifying himself with the child so that he tends to take the child's part unthinkingly, even where it would be wiser not to cushion the child from the inevitable realities of the world and 'the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune'. This sentimental, though superficially benevolent, attitude is usually well disguised, which makes it most difficult to decide if an adult has a healthy tolerance and a sense of vocation, or if he is unconsciously projecting on to the child his own childhood conflicts with his parents or parent substitutes. This type of adult, in effect, uses the child as a means to solve his adult problems of personal adjustment, and thereby becomes unable to help the child to progress beyond the emotional level at which he (the adult) has fixated. From this arises much of the disciplinary weakness of some residential schools for the emotionally disturbed child, for there is no-one like the disturbed child—and especially the brighter ones—for ably and subtly using charm and guile to 'get around' an adult, following this with the next step, to 'play off' one adult against another, exploiting this adult's spurious emotional interest in him.

This may be expressed differently by drawing attention to the adult who has an emotional need for, a dependence upon, the affection of the children,

which may be a sign of a juvenile fixation or may have a sexual origin. This type of adult, over-involved with children, finds it correspondingly difficult to co-operate and to work with his fellow adults and is liable to be erratic and inconsistent. The converse is, fortunately, easier to spot: the over-rigid adult whose insecurity makes him inflexible and lacking in understanding and intuition.

The difficulty of reconciling therapeutic and disciplinary considerations is especially marked in the case of the rigid adult, who has not the intuitive knowledge of when a disciplinary issue is basically a result of symptomatic, compulsive behaviour and must be dealt with by tact and not by toughness. Some consistency, however, is essential because the child must know where he is in the world. He must also learn eventually to tolerate and appreciate that adults too have moods and differ from each other in the way they tackle day to day problems of living, which he will not learn from the rigid, unsympathetic adult.

Combining both of these types of emotional unsuitability is the adult who is prone to make sado-masochistic relationships and is unconsciously impelled to make intense friendships with a child whom, on one pretext or another, he sooner or later provokes so that quarrels and reconciliations follow each other. The child—a favourite one minute and out of favour the next—never knows where he is and his suspicion or fear of adults is made worse by this inconsistency and emotional insecurity. This sort of relationship is frequently a sign of latent homosexuality.

That these difficulties are real no worker in this field would deny, but, to pass on to the positive advantages of informal psychotherapy, we may use as a link a part of both formal and informal psychotherapy, which is normally hedged about with all the guards that the psychotherapist can devise: the transference situation.

The most significant part of any psychotherapy is the working through of the transference situations, and it demands little imagination to see that in a residential community there are many opportunities for negative or positive transferences to develop. The adult worker must be sufficiently tranquil and stable to tolerate hostility and negativism which a child may direct against him; he must be able to live and work among volatile and uninhibited children with vast resources of nervous, frequently quasi-manic, energy, who may have deep-rooted suspicions of, and hostility to, adults. He must be able to satisfy the child's need for symbolic, tangible affection in a manner that is neither mawkish nor forced—even if the child shows aggression or other unattractive and unlovable qualities. He must be aware—intellectually and emotionally—that 'warmth' is a vital part of therapy and that if it is replaced by a bland, amiable but essentially negative

and inadequate kindness or tolerance, the technique of therapy has been sterilized. It is not the nicer, quieter, easier-to-handle boys or girls who need to be befriended and taken to the pictures, but the suspicious, aggressive 'tester' of adult affection and tolerance. 'Cure', wrote Ian Suttie (2), 'consists in the removal of frustration, whereupon hate is not "*overcome by love*", but, *having no more reason for existence*, is converted into love.' The processes which Suttie italicized can only be fruitful and successful if the adult is ready and able to work actively among children who are insatiable emotional cannibals, at great inconvenience and strain to himself, seeing little reward for his labours for months, though sometimes being rewarded by a sudden and violent burgeoning of hate into love. This fruitful relationship can only with relative difficulty develop in the confines of the consulting room, however able, inspired and inspiring the therapist may be.

Informal psychotherapy is, ideally, a part of all relationships between adult and child from the time of waking up in the morning to falling asleep at night, and it is here that the residential school for emotionally disturbed children may—and only 'may' if it is thoughtfully and efficiently managed—score over the more restricted child guidance clinic or other formal psychiatric institution. The school which accepts a child for a relatively long period (as Red Hill's four years or more) must realize that it is going to take the place of a home for that child and that one or more adults must be ready and willing to accept the rôle of parent substitutes. Although all efforts must be made to sort out the troubles of the parent or guardian, this frequently proves to be impossible and the relationship of the parent or guardian to the child may—at the best—be cold rejection or—at the worst—active hostility. Red Hill School accepts this challenge and pupils are encouraged to write or to visit the school after they have left, which very many of them do. This does not discourage them from standing on their own feet when they have left, any more than visiting his family would hinder a normal boy's independence when he had left home for his first job. On the contrary, the pupil leaves knowing that he has friends and a familiar place to visit where he can relate triumphs and tragedies, difficulties and successes, frustrations and opportunities that he would, in happier circumstances, be able to tell Mum, Dad and the family. Twice every year enquiries are made of all former pupils, and the results are published annually by the school for local authorities and others concerned with the work of the school. To the end of 1954, of 244 children who had left only six could not be traced.

The most obvious general advantages of the residential school are two. Firstly: where the child is very largely free to behave spontaneously he may be seen 'in the round' and 'in the raw' in a way which the formal clinic

situation precludes. This is not always an advantage or a necessity (thanks to modern projective diagnostic techniques), but is decidedly useful where the child is uncommunicative and unco-operative, because he will sooner or later reveal some clue to his malaise.

William, I.Q. 170, came to Red Hill at the age of twelve with a history of extreme reserve and academic backwardness. Why the leakage of mental energy? He appeared to have no conflicts and was from a good home, with kindly (if fuzzy) parents. He had been very thoroughly probed before coming to the School without revealing anything of significance and, at the School for three years, pursued his placid negative way of life. At the beginning of the third year, however, he was found by an adult, who was doing his bed-time rounds, crouched in a corner of the library in solitary fear reading a sordid, flashy sex novel. His shocked anxiety was reported to his psychotherapist, who in subsequent interviews discovered that the boy had played a passive homosexual rôle for many years, and had had homosexual intercourse and fellatio with a man near his home. At the school these homosexual tendencies were relegated to exhausting fantasy, consuming much of his mental energy. This clue was followed up and, his resistance overcome, a conventional Freudian analysis was carried on with success.

For this (and for other reasons) frequent and regular staff meetings are held at the school to exchange observations and comments and to discuss a particularly difficult or puzzling child. Visiting specialists are frequently invited to contribute to these meetings. Further, the child is given the opportunity to reveal identifications and projections, and to express, sometimes to live out, his conflicts on a personal level.

Secondly: a skilful and understanding adult may sometimes give psychotherapy an impetus by a casual 'snap' interpretation which, though on a humorous and facile level, may 'click' emotionally with the child. Most important is the possibility of dramatizing that the adult is on the side of the child; this must not become a weak condoning of the transgressions of the disturbed child whose naughtiness or delinquency is basically conscious and must be controlled by him. There is, after all, the predatory 'knocking off' of the untrained child whose attitude to adults may, to complicate his problems, be hostility and suspicion. Where, as at Red Hill, there is an active, sophisticated and well-founded Court system and social control run by the children, the need for adult discipline and control is minimized and clash between the adult as boss and the adult as a pal can be brought within manageable limits. At Red Hill, an adult may act as the advocate in Court for a boy who needs a dramatizing of the adult's friendship, as, for example, in the case of John and Jack who were charged before the Court for stealing a neighbour's petrol tins. This is an offence looked upon as very serious

and they were confined to the grounds for the next week. I had a therapeutic relationship with John and had arranged to take him to the nearby town that afternoon. I explained this to the Court and asked if the penalty could not be deferred. The Court agreed. John saw I was on his side, without condoning his offence, and the Law was upheld.

Adult-child intimacy is encouraged by what the children call 'squatting': in effect, using an adult's room as a substitute for home. The child drifts in and out with books, bits of paper to write or draw on, stamps, toys, or comes to hover by the door to ask for trivial things, using the request as an excuse until invited in or asked to come later. Once the child feels he is tacitly invited he settles down informally. Adults always have a few children in their rooms, usually those with whom they have a special friendship at that moment. But adults too are entitled to peace and privacy. Often the child leaves articles to serve as an excuse for his coming in later. 'Will you take care of this for me, please, Len?' and an intrinsically worthless rag of comic goes into my drawer.

Less obviously, at a residential school it is easier to follow consistently a disciplinary or other policy with a child than it would be at an outpatient clinic. Another reason for the importance of the staff meeting is that there are discussed and agreed the policies to be followed, so that a 'line' which is felt to be wise can be followed by all adults within the variations of individual differences of personality.

Lastly to be mentioned are those inchoate activities which play therapy approaches in relatively controlled conditions, and which are, in effect, cathartic mechanisms. Games, both the strictly organized, such as cricket, and the wild, rushing about type, such as 'Release-Oh!', or 'Four Sticks' and 'British Bulldog', are valuable as cathartic mechanisms and as permitting aggression and hostility in a socially approved manner. But they have a positive value also: they provide the child with a ready made social situation in which he can make practice shots at co-operation and have a chance to assuage feelings of inferiority by hitting a four or making a goal or two. How the child plays in the game is often of interpretative importance, and principals of schools for maladjusted children should note that twenty-two children on the cricket-field are twenty-two children not marauding the neighbouring orchards or breaking into neighbours' barns. With what age group the child tends to play is also worth noting, *e.g.* fifteen-year-old Desmond, whose mother was about to end her thirteen-year-long promiscuity by settling down with a second Uncle Tom, suddenly regressed to the play level of a five-year-old, talking to himself, shooting at imaginary enemies, playing with the seven-year-old children of a member of the staff, in a quarrelsome or over-excited manner.

Swearing is most common when the child is still learning and needing to test freedom and usually ends gradually as psychotherapy progresses. Where it is part of a compulsive neurosis it may end with an astonishing suddenness. It may linger on as a habit long after its therapeutic value to a child has ended and there must, therefore, be some subtle æsthetic standards to discourage this 'habit' swearing without destroying the freedom to swear and make dirty jokes that some children will still need. Symbolic stealing and delinquencies have unrivalled opportunities to occur in a residential school, as in the case of Colin who would steal my cigarettes but would for weeks, until he trusted me, never accept one from me even if I pressed him.

Less well recognized is the importance of practical joking, as both a catharsis and a substitute for delinquency. Otto L. Shaw (3) gives a case where a boy aged fourteen, I.Q. 142, had coveted a first edition of 'Eikon Basilike' which was in his (Otto L. Shaw's) possession and kept in the school study. 'He went to the study door one evening with the plan of removing this book and then decided not to do so. He then obtained an old lavatory seat which he used as a frame for a caricature of the headmaster and he hung by a peculiar method the thus framed caricature on the study door.' Otto L. Shaw subsequently asked him 'why he had used such a fantastic method of hanging this picture on to the door and he replied that he could not knock a nail into the door as this would damage the door and so spoil the joke.' The practical joker whose joke succeeds has taken a harmless revenge; by making his victim ridiculous he has made him (for the time being) less formidable, less dangerous and less hostile; he has also made contact, thus lessening his inner tension.

A particularly troublesome form of aggression is that in which the child rips or tears his clothes, which may be an hysterical mechanism, or a substitute for suicide in the accident prone. It may be a means of expressing hostility to adults by causing them trouble. Aggressive speech and behaviour to test adult tolerance, affection and acceptance are often found; it would be strange not to find them in a school for maladjusted children.

Lastly, opportunity must exist for the formation of gangs and for spontaneous digging, excavating, building, camping and destroying games. It appears that a camping gang often provides an adequate sublimation for the anti-social odd-men-out and that boys who would commit an offence together do not necessarily share the same camp fire.

The rationale of these aspects of informal psychotherapy is that it is, ideally, an antidote for Suttie's 'Taboo on Tenderness', a primary cause of most, if not all, juvenile (and adult) instability.

REFERENCES

- (1) EDWARD GLOVER: 'War, Sadism and Pacifism'. Allen & Unwin. 1947.
- (2) IAN SUTTIE: 'The Origins of Love and Hate'. Kegan Paul.
- (3) OTTO L. SHAW: 'Re-educational Factors in a Progressive Boarding School for Delinquent Children and Adolescents'. (Privately published).

NOTES AND CRITICISMS

PRISON REFORM

The debate on Prisons in the House of Lords on the 4th May, 1955 (*Hansard*, Volume 192, Number 52, columns 741-806), was one of considerable interest and likely to give a new impetus to prison reform. Introduced by a forceful and well-informed speech by Lord Pakenham, its high level was throughout maintained, notably in the contributions of Viscount Templewood and Lord Chorley.

Lord Pakenham mainly criticized the smallness of the proportion of prisoners covered by the training schemes and the scarcity of constructive labour for the rest; the shortage of staff causing delay in the re-introduction of the three-shift system throughout prisons; and, in particular, the inadequate number of assistant governors, which he thought should be increased from the present 100 to 500 or so. He also suggested that in many cases the place of a prison sentence could well be taken by probation, suspended sentence, attendance centres for adults, work for the community outside prison, or similar measures.

All of these criticisms are of fairly long standing and well founded, though the proportion of prisoners excluded from any training scheme may possibly be slightly smaller than that mentioned by Lord Pakenham (about 2,500 prisoners in training prisons against 12,850 in non-training prisons). As was well brought out in the debate, the problem has to be tackled in particular by reducing the number of short-term prisoners and by improving the staffing position. With regard to the first, various suggestions were made in the course of the debate, most of which have been made before without ever being seriously followed up: 'We know what ought to be done, yet we do not do it,' said Lord Templewood (Column 758); yet on the other hand, significantly enough, he suggested as his 'first proposal to the Home Office, to make careful review of the individual cases of these prisoners (i.e. those approximately 3,000 sentenced each year to prison terms not exceeding 14 days) and see how many could work outside, with the result that we should be able to carry out the sort of reforms that we all wish in the local prisons' (columns 761 and 762). In a report on 'Short Term Imprisonment and its Alternatives', submitted to the 12th International Penal and Penitentiary Congress, The Hague, 1950, the present writer made the following recommendations:—

'Before any more definite proposals can be made, research is needed in two directions: (a) in a number of countries the records of an unselected sample of a few hundred short term prisoners should be examined. Among the factors to be analysed should be the following: age, sex, occupation, personal and family history, mental capacity, education, offence, length of sentence, previous convictions and punishment received, loss of employment through imprisonment, treatment in prison, description of the prison concerned, after-conduct over a few years. The object of this study would be to determine in how many cases another, more suitable, method of treatment might have been available to the courts. . . . (b) some of the material on alternatives which is likely to be submitted to the Congress should be

studied in greater detail in a number of countries with a view to collecting further information on alternatives already successfully applied.'

With the exception of one single speaker, this proposal was ignored by the Congress, and to the knowledge of the present writer no research on such lines has been undertaken anywhere except in one country, Denmark. In No. 6 of the *International Review of Criminal Policy* of July, 1954, pp. 24 *et seq.*, an article by Messrs. K. Berntsen and Karl O. Christiansen is published on 'The Resocialization of Short-term Offenders'. In its concluding section, a 'critical evaluation' of the short-term sentence is presented in which the case material of the study, concerning 126 prisoners serving sentences of not more than five months in Copenhagen prisons, is examined on the basis of a detailed examination of their case records with personal interviews and tests in order to judge whether the imposition of a short prison sentence could be regarded as the most appropriate way of dealing with these cases. In the view of the authors, only in 14 of these 126 cases was the answer in the affirmative. For the great majority, other measures provided by Danish law were regarded as more suitable, such as conditional sentences with or without supervision (54 cases), in- or out-patient treatment for alcoholics (23 cases), intensive psycho-therapeutic treatment (6 cases) committal to an institution for psychopaths (7 cases), a fine or discharge (3 cases), or 'committal to a treatment and training institution that does not yet exist' (19 cases). No doubt, all such evaluations depend largely on individual judgments and may therefore not be accepted by other investigators or by the Courts concerned. A useful beginning has been made, however, and it is to be hoped that similar enquiries may soon be undertaken in this country and elsewhere. According to the Annual Reports of the Prison Commissioners, there are in addition to the 3,000 prisoners referred to by Lord Templewood many more (5,716 in 1952) serving sentences of between two and five weeks. No constructive training is possible for such prisoners. To some considerable extent, prison reform is dependent on changes in judicial sentencing policy, but such changes are unlikely to be forthcoming unless recommendations are backed by more factual knowledge of the effect of the various kinds of sentence at the disposal of the courts.

Among other devices, Lord Chorley suggested (column 785) to extend to the age of twenty-five and to all first offenders the application of Section 17, Criminal Justice Act, 1948, which at present requires a court when sentencing a person under twenty-one to prison to set out in writing the reasons why no other sentence was deemed appropriate. It might be interesting and useful to examine the reasons given by the courts in an unselected sample of such cases. In addition to this, further consideration should be given to all those alternatives to short-term imprisonment in use in other countries, and it is to be welcomed that the Howard League for Penal Reform is at present turning its special attention to them.

Concerning the staffing problem, it was perhaps not sufficiently stressed in the debate—only Lord Mancroft mentioned it in his reply for the Government (column 793)—that the shortage of staff is due not to a scarcity of applications but to the very high proportion of rejections. In 1953, for example, out of 6,632 applicants only 426 became established. While there is no reason to doubt that the high proportion of rejections is fully justified, it is good to know that a special enquiry may be carried out into the position.

H. M.

PUBLICATIONS BY CHARLES GERMAIN

- (a) *Le Traitement des Recidivistes en France*. (Imprimerie Administrative, Melun 1953, pp. 106.)
- (b) *Postwar Prison Reform in France*. Translated by Thorsten Sellin. (Authorized Reprint from *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 293, May 1954. pp. 18.)
- (c) *Recent Advances in the French Prison and Reformatory System*. (A lecture given to the Fourth International Course in Criminology, London, pp. 32.)

In these important publications Monsieur Charles Germain, until his recent appointment as Avocat Général à la Cour de Cassation in Paris director of the French Prison Service and at the same time its highly accomplished interpreter, presents the most up-to-date information on the post-war reforms of the French prison system and the legislation upon which it is based.¹ In the first section of *Le Traitement des Recidivistes en France* the author reproduces a paper read at the Second International Course of Criminology in Paris. It is largely a theoretical discussion of the systems developed by the penal legislations of various countries to deal with habitual offenders. Questions such as legal versus criminological definition of recidivism, single-track versus double-track systems, 'homotrope' and 'polytrope' recidivists, indeterminate sentences and the scope to be left to judicial discretion are briefly ventilated with special reference to French legislation since 1885. While admitting the logic of the 'voie unique' the distinguished author maintains that for technical reasons the single-track system could for the time being not be introduced in France without causing injustice to non-recidivists. Nor is he an unconditional supporter of the indeterminate sentence which he regards as a cause of unrest in prisons for recidivists. After a detailed survey of the statistical picture he concludes that no final statements can as yet be made regarding the preventive effect of the present French system. In the second section of the same publication the legislation and the actual treatment of recidivists in French institutions after the abolition of transportation are described in some greater detail with the assistance of a number of other leading members of the French prison service. It is not without interest to read that the idea of transportation still has some supporters in France; M. Germain leaves no doubt, however, that he is firmly against any re-introduction of the previous system, and great care has in fact been taken to improve the treatment of offenders sentenced to relegation in Metropolitan France. Particular attention is paid in this section to the elaborate system of observation and classification developed at the three Centres of Loos, Rouen and Besancon, to the three 'Centres spécialisés de traitement' at Gannat, Clermont-Ferrand and Saint-Sulpice, and at the 'Maison centrale' at Ensisheim where the period of observation in cellular confinement lasts for a whole year. The Governor of Ensisheim, in his description of the system, quotes in its support Professor de Greeff's dictum: 'Je crois, en effet, qu'il y a là un danger, mais je ne pense pas que tout soit mal dans le fait de mettre l'homme qui a commis quelque chose de grave en face de lui-même.'

¹ See also Jean Pinatel, *Brit. J. Delinq.*, 1952, 2, 3.

Perhaps the most interesting points in M. Germain's paper on 'Post-war Prison Reform in France' are his description of recent experiments with short-term prisoners and of the important rôle of the French judge in the execution of prison sentences. In France, prison terms are regarded as 'short' if they do not exceed one year. At the beginning of the year 1954, there were only 5,000 such short-termers in French prisons out of a total of 23,000. In all cases of short sentences, the State Prosecutor, after hearing the presiding judge of the sentencing Court and the magistrate who is chairman of the discharged prisoners' aid committee, has power to defer the execution indefinitely, in which case a 'delegate' is appointed who has roughly the duties of a probation officer. If, however, the sentence is carried out this may be done in conditions of semi-freedom, i.e. placement in a job outside during the day, or by assignment to a working gang outside the institution. With regard to the '*juge d'exécution des peines*', an innovation taken over from Italy and Portugal, 'the magistrate charged with keeping an eye on the execution of punishments', writes M. Germain, 'has become part of our penitentiary organization'.

The third paper is mainly concerned with pre-sentence examination, where some important extensions in the French system are expected as a result of the recommendations recently made at various international conferences. The paper also contains a description of the work of post-sentence observation and classification centres, including that at Fresnes for non-recidivists, to which all such offenders are sent from the whole country who have to undergo more than one year's imprisonment. The final section is devoted to a description of such measures of social rehabilitation as vocational training, conditional release, and aftercare.

Altogether, the picture one receives from these papers is one of steady progress and, although there are still many differences of principle between the French and English systems, in some respects a gradual approximation seems to be taking place.

H. M.

ARETHUSA CAMP (1954)²

The second Arethusa Camp, organized by probation officers attached to a London Juvenile Court, assisted by two Home Office trainees for the Probation Service (one part-time) and a senior scout, was held from 24th August to 3rd September, 1954, on the sports ground of the T.S. 'Arethusa' at Upnor, Rochester, Kent. 25 boys were taken, their ages ranging from 11-15 years. The site was an admirable one with extensive views over the Medway. There was a large sports pavilion (used as a messroom and for games in inclement weather) and an indoor swimming pool (used at least once every day). Five tents were erected for the boys, and one for the staff. There was an open-air cookhouse; the mid-day meal was cooked by the 'Arethusa' staff and served on board ship. This daily contact with the 'Arethusa' was greatly appreciated by the boys. The sports ground gave ample space for organized and (disorganized) games.

² The organizers acknowledge their indebtedness to Mr. N. Caudell and Mr. G. Parkinson for the useful and objective material they have produced about this year's camp, some of which is incorporated in this report.

The 1954 camp started in exactly the same way as the previous one. A meeting had been held a few days before to discuss arrangements; and to all outward appearances the boys did not differ from the group that went the last year—five, in fact, were attending their second Arethusa Camp, but here all similarity to the 1953 camp ceased. This year the boys did not sing on the journey and that, at least, should have been a warning to the organizers that they were dealing with an entirely different group—in fact, none was heard to sing, with the characteristically tuneless but joyous abandon of youth, until the following Monday morning.

Almost as soon as they arrived, the lads started fighting each other and with a viciousness that had to be seen to be believed. The staff had to be constantly on the alert to prevent the boys from harming one another. Lads like Mike and Jack were among the instigators but almost all were involved at one time or another. When the time came for bed it was necessary to make a division into two groups. The wooden partition down the centre of the pavilion became a no-man's land. Individual antagonisms were discarded in favour of loyalty to 'us' and hatred of 'them'. It was very late before peace came to the camp that night.

Next day the tents were pitched with the help of a minority of the boys. The lads were divided into five groups with some regard to age, personality, maturity and previous friendships. Immediately the group feelings of the previous evening were replaced by loyalty to the tent and hostility to everyone else. These feelings became intense and fighting started again. Tent leaders were elected within the tents by the lads themselves—after his appointment, Tony was heard telling his boys: 'In future I'm "sir" in here.'

During the afternoon a number of boys began writing their letters home asking for cash. In most cases a considerable effort was necessary and the letters were shown to one or other of the adults with a degree of pride in the accomplishment of a difficult task. Dick wrote: 'I am writing this slowly because I know you can't read fast.' Peter wrote: 'Dear Mum and Joe, I am well. Please send 5/-'; he copied this five times, complete with its heading, and sent it to other likely relatives.

Jack was a problem all day. It was difficult to get him up for breakfast and then he came into the messroom in his pyjamas. When he eventually dressed he put on three shirts, two pullovers, two pairs of shorts and an overcoat—and thus dressed he went about all day. He accompanied the others to the swimming pool but would not go in the water. Eventually he was told he would have to join the rest; he did so and then would not get out. Jack had been the victim of a particularly difficult background; he was now described by a psychiatrist as 'a typical rejected child from a divided family'. When he was three, his mother deserted the family and went away with another man. Jack was put into a Home and he remained there for the next six years. His father then remarried and the boy, who had been happy in the Home where he was considered to be an affectionate child, was taken away to live with the father and step-mother. Soon the step-mother started her own family and wanted to be rid of Jack. The father had to choose between his wife and son—and he decided in favour of the former. The effect of this had been to make Jack an anxious, suspicious boy, unwilling to accept adults until he had proved them. For the first few days of camp he behaved abominably, being unco-operative and aggressive even with his contemporaries. Fortunately, he was able to form a warm relationship with one of the staff. Jack seemed to find it odd that an adult could accept him while the

other lads rejected him and the adult, too, rejected his conduct. He was able to admit, when his problem was verbalized, that he could not control his temper and that what started off as an ordinary tussle soon became out of his control. On one occasion he started to fight with another boy and the officer had to hold him down. He whispered to him, 'This is where your trouble is, Jack—this is where you lose control.' His answer, 'Yes, I know', was a mixture of viciousness, bitterness and unhappiness caused by the conflict between his desire to conform and his inability to do so. Yet he had to give vent to his anger and, since the officer was literally holding him down, he turned on him and bit hard and savagely into his hand. They remained good friends and Jack's conduct began to improve, only to deteriorate again on the last day—presumably, when he realized it was time to return to the atmosphere of a home which lacked affection.

Fighting and quarrelling continued unabated on Thursday. One of the organizers had to attend a court that day. Among the cases was David, a fourteen-year-old boy found to be in need of care or protection. David was illegitimate and his mother had died before he was a year old. As she was dying she asked her sister and brother-in-law to bring the baby up as their own child. This they did and David was always led to believe he was their child. His aunt and uncle soon separated and David lived first with one and then with the other. At the age of fourteen his uncle managed to deceive the authorities and the boy obtained insurance cards and went to work. He was said to have been an excellent employee. All went well until the employers became suspicious of his age and David thought it judicious to leave. This happened at a time when the uncle had gone off on a summer holiday, leaving the boy to work and pay the rent of their furnished room. Being unable to pay the rent he became frightened and ran away. The police found him several nights later, sleeping in the back of a stationary lorry. The magistrates suggested that David should spend the following week at camp, both to give him a holiday and also that some attempt might be made to get to know him and his difficulties, with a view to the better advising of the court as to his disposal. David accordingly travelled back to Upnor with the officer, after first being fitted out with necessary clothing.

Although he arrived two days later than the other lads, David was accepted by them. He proved, however, to be a serious problem in camp. As might be expected from his background, David was a complex personality. There was a streak of cowardice in his make-up which it was hard to fit in with his previous courageous acceptance of the difficulties life had brought him. He reacted pathetically to any show of affection by the adults, whose company he preferred to that of his contemporaries. He made persistent demands upon the staff and relapsed into deep depression and moodiness when he was not singled out for attention. At such times he became unco-operative and disobedient and behaved with singular immaturity. On the other hand, he showed considerable tenacity in the swimming pool and, having made up his mind to do so, he learnt to swim within the week.

On Friday morning the lads were taken for a three-hour motorboat trip on the Medway. This excursion had been keenly anticipated and for the first half-hour it was enjoyed by all. Then, in spite of the fact that it was a glorious day, absolute and complete boredom descended on almost all. Never was a project more thankfully concluded. This episode showed (and there were other examples

during the camp) how the group needed a constant stimulus, the lads having no resources of their own.

It had been generally agreed by all that Saturday would see a great inpouring of 'lolly' in response to the many letters of appeal which had been sent out. Consequently, most of the boys wanted to go out that evening and spend what was left of their pocket money. They refused to consider the possibility that cash might not be forthcoming in the morning's post. Trouble started in the evening when the first group returned and confessed that they had lost John, the youngest and smallest boy at camp. The organizers gave themselves a good deal of needless anxiety, completely ignoring the fact that, although John was only eleven, he had had to fight for himself and for his very survival for practically the whole of those eleven years. Actually he returned only a few minutes late and with a smile all over his face. The next to arrive was Mike—in tears. He complained that, on their way back from the village, Tony had hit him. He was not to be pacified and declared that he would get his brother to 'do' Tony, either on visiting day or when they returned to London. A little later Tony returned, white-faced and unhappy. He admitted that he had hit Mike but said he had 'asked for it'. He said that Mike had been bragging to and swearing in front of some sailors in the village. He had then drawn him, Tony, into it, first making him look a fool and then adding a further insult by telling him to go away. Having told his side of the story and renewing his threat of reprisal, Mike was no further trouble that night but Tony was in a most unhappy state. Three times he attempted to run away but each time he was found before he had gone very far. One of the officers sat with him until nearly 2.0 a.m., trying to get him to settle down for the night and endeavouring to show him just how shallow friendship could be when it was bought with cigarettes. From the time he arrived at camp, Tony had tried to win the esteem of the other lads by his gifts of cigarettes and loans of cash. He had been warned that he would achieve nothing thereby, but he had to learn the hard way.

Although he could be loud-mouthed, boastful and brash, Tony was, in fact, unhappy, insecure and almost dominated by a sense of inferiority. It was necessary constantly to build up his self-esteem; when he felt the staff held him in some respect he responded well and was amenable to normal control. A lad of above-average intelligence, his previous history had been one of constant running away from difficulties at home and at school. He had been missing from home on a number of occasions and had been expelled from his grammar school the previous term for truancy. A significant change occurred in Tony after the events of that evening. He turned from the boys to the staff for companionship and, although he only partially understood his difficulties, he did understand that someone was trying to help him and he became a more socialized member of the group.

At 10.0 p.m., an hour late, the last nine lads returned to camp, expecting trouble. After a hurried conference, the organizers decided that some mark of disapproval was necessary. The offenders were told they would be the duty squad on Saturday and, in addition, everybody would be confined to camp. This news was received with surprising hostility—according to scarcely concealed mutterings the officer who made the announcement was a 'bastard'. There was much unrest in the tents that night. While one officer was in one corner of the pavilion trying to cope with Tony, the other was in the opposite corner to an equally late hour, trying to help another lad sort out a personal problem which was causing him a good deal of concern.

After these two lads had been settled, the organizers tried to face their own problems; were they to stand by their decisions, or not? In naming 9.0 p.m. as the time for returning to camp they had acted arbitrarily and without much thought. At home these lads were used to staying out till much later; now they were on holiday and expected extra concessions. It was obviously easier not to give way and the lads would expect them, as adults, to be unreasonable and inflexible. And yet, would the camp achieve anything if discipline were imposed from above and not come about as a natural consequence of living together in a group? The organizers felt they had it in their power to impose a rigid regime for the rest of the camp but, if they did this, would they get to know the lads, would the lads get to know them and would they achieve that understanding which was one of the chief purposes of the camp? They decided to adopt a new attitude to the boys. Henceforth, rules would be kept to a minimum and if they were broken there would be no penalties. Not only would the unpopular decisions be revoked but 9.0 p.m. would be abandoned as the hour for returning to camp.

Saturday morning came all too soon and it was clear that sleep had done nothing to ease the tension. Some of the lads refused to come to breakfast and those who were there behaved badly, shouting and throwing food. All the resentment was directed against the officer who had made the announcement the previous evening, while crude attempts were made to win the approval of the other officer. Immediately after breakfast a meeting was called and the organizers made it clear that they were jointly responsible for all decisions taken at camp, including the ones which were so much resented. They went on to announce their change of policy and implied that henceforth it was to be 'permissive' camping. No one would do duty as a punishment, but work had to be done and it was hoped there would be volunteers. No one would be kept in camp as a punishment, but the organizers were responsible for the well-being of the lads and they hoped 10.0 p.m. would be considered a reasonable hour for returning to camp. Except for Mike, who was again nursing his grievance, there was an immediate response by the lads. Dick, physically the biggest boy in camp and the self-appointed chief tent leader, took the lead in saying that they would each offer to do a job, but suggesting it should be the same duty each day to avoid confusion. This idea was accepted and in a very short time there were sufficient volunteers to complete a rota. Henceforth, duties were carried out with a much better grace, although there were those who continued to let their pals do as much as they would. For the rest of the camp everyone was in on time each evening. With a near-pathetic naivety, the lads tried to show the subject of their previous resentment that he was not too bad after all—in fact, he was a good chap. He was overwhelmed with offers of sweets and drinks of lemonade.

By Saturday evening some members of the staff were beginning to show signs of strain. While loyally supporting the policy of the organizers in front of the boys, they were privately expressing considerable doubts as to its effectiveness and the probability of its ultimate success. This seemed to arise from their own pre-conceived ideas of what should be the relationship between staff and boys. Also, they were finding it difficult to stand back and let the situation develop.

No one, at this moment, was in the right frame of mind to start facing a further problem—when Peter announced his desire to return home the following morning. Although he himself could not verbalize his reasons, knowledge of his background

made them quite clear. He had been put on probation for stealing a cycle on the twenty-second time he ran away from a residential FSN school. Three months before camp, Peter's brother-in-law and another member of the family had called to collect Peter's father and take him in their lorry to a football match. After going a short distance the lorry door swung open and the father fell out and fractured his skull. At the inquest the verdict was 'accidental death' but one half of the family had since considered that the brother-in-law was responsible, through negligence. Partly out of natural respect, but chiefly in order to spite the other half of the family, a weekly visit to the grave had become a not-to-be-missed event.

Sunday started reasonably well. One of the organizers said he was going to Mass and six Roman Catholics asked if they could accompany him. They sat in the front pew and were highly critical of the ceremonial which, according to them, was much below the London standard. There were loud, unconcealed groans when it was realized there was to be a sermon. Five other lads accompanied another adult to the parish church.

As soon as the church parties had left, Bob announced his desire to return home. At first he said he wanted to see his new bike, but he later agreed he was homesick. He was told, sympathetically, that some arrangements would be made after lunch but, having made up his mind, Bob could not control his impulses. Shortly afterwards he disappeared. The police were advised and they subsequently reported that he had hitch-hiked home—on 11d. Bob had been at camp the previous year and there had then been no sign that he wanted to run away. However, his friend of last year had joined up with another lad this year leaving Bob, who always found it difficult to make personal relationships, alone. Since he had always been a truant, running away was his only answer.

Peter was a disturbing influence all morning—he put on his best suit, packed his bag and just sat on it. Twice he ran off but was brought back. After a long discussion he agreed not to go without permission and he offered his bag as security. Lunch was a restless meal and afterwards there was a good deal of fighting and some accusations of stealing.

By this time the staff had had almost enough and they discussed the advisability of disbanding the camp. However, they decided to make one last attempt to salvage the situation. They spent the rest of the afternoon seeing the lads in each tent separately. To each group it was explained that the original intention had been that all should have a summer holiday; instead, everyone seemed to be restless, dissatisfied, aggressive and, apparently, unhappy. The first four groups vigorously denied this—they were having a good holiday, and wanted to carry on. Some of the other boys might be causing difficulties but not they. They could see the difficult position in which the staff were being placed by these other lads and were only too anxious to help in every possible way. They would be most upset if their holiday was cut short. The last tent seen was the one containing Mike, Tony and Peter. Peter's views were simple—he just wanted to go home. Between Mike and Tony smouldered the ill-feelings of Friday evening. Although Tony was prepared to make it up, Mike continued to threaten violent reprisals by his brother. Eventually, when it was seen that he could not be moved from this attitude, he was told he would have to return home with Peter that evening. He said he would not go. This decision was then announced to the whole camp and

all were offered the chance of returning to London. To the general surprise, Jim, who had been quite happy previously, said he wanted to go—he had clearly been unsettled by the events of the afternoon. Even more surprising at first sight was Peter's announcement that he had changed his mind, but a glance at the clock showed that his family would have completed by then their ritual visit to the cemetery for the week; there was therefore no need for him to return to London. For the rest of the camp, Peter was perfectly contented.

Jim and Mike left together, the latter with a great show of resentment. However, by the time he was out of the grounds he was perfectly amenable to his escort—a fortnight later he was overheard telling his friends that it had been a 'smashing' camp. Mike was the youngest boy of a very large family. His parents had little understanding of his needs and even less affection for him. Father was frequently unemployed. Mike shared a bedroom with whatever number of lodgers his mother had at the time; from them he learnt all about dice, cards and horses. His home was in a very tough neighbourhood and the lad frequently found it necessary to batter his way out of difficult situations; he gave the impression of knowing no fear. He was of small physique and stature and he reverted to a blind and vigorous aggressiveness to cover his fears of being picked upon and belittled. Having regard to his age, Mike seemed an almost hopeless case. He felt unwanted and insecure and boosted his ego by the common 'what-a-big-boy-am-I' process. His instinctive, aggressive urges were beyond his control and he saw no need for help. From his own personal point of view it was a great pity he had to be rejected by the camp and ejected from it. From the point of view of everyone else, his removal was an act of expiation—he was the scapegoat through whom the sins, shortcomings and hostilities of the other lads were displaced. Mike's condemnation was significant in so far as it was an attempt by the lads to reject one whom they recognized as a dangerous extremist in their midst. The organizers, in their afternoon consultations with the tent-groups, had detected a greater degree of co-operation from the boys than they had received previously. Many of the lads were saying there was 'something wrong with the camp'. Although they pointed from themselves to others, they were really pointing to their own defects. A second (and, some may think, decisive) factor was that in expelling Mike the organizers had reasserted their authority. Whatever the reason, on Sunday night an unknown calm descended on the camp and from then onwards there began to build up something happy, positive and worthwhile. There was an immediate return of goodwill towards the adults and harmony between the lads themselves; the second half of the camp bore no resemblance whatever to what had gone before.

Monday morning found everyone happy. In the afternoon the party went by coach to Grain for a tour of the oil refinery, where they were given a magnificent free tea. The laden tables were quickly stripped as by locusts and more than one pocket swelled visibly. The lads were then taken on to All Hallows but after a quick look at the beach, the cafes and the empty funfair, all were bored. When one of the adults started throwing stones at an empty tin can he was soon joined by a number of lads, only too pleased to have their amusement organized. When it was suggested the tin can could represent a policeman's helmet, they threw with all the more vigour.

Everyone was very busy on Tuesday morning. A large amount of wood was

required for the camp-fire which had been arranged for that evening. In addition, the afternoon's swimming gala had to be organized. There was much keen anticipation of the money prizes which were promised. Nearly all took part in one race or another, including the non-swimmers. Most of the lads entered into the spirit of the camp-fire and the evening air was rent with raucous voices. It was very late before they could be persuaded to leave the incomparable fellowship of the firelight. Probably, the group reached a greater unity that evening than at any other time during the camp.

The goodwill of the previous evening was carried over into Wednesday. Visitors were expected at lunchtime and everyone was determined to put on a good show. There was no lack of volunteers to help get things ready and to ensure the camp site looked its very attractive best. Some lads were again due for disappointment—parents who had promised to visit failed to do so. However, a few relatives arrived, together with a magistrate, an Inspector from the Home Office and an Assistant Principal Probation Officer from London. The visitors commented upon the happy atmosphere they found at the camp and on the easy and natural attitude of the boys. Tea, set on tables under the trees, with the lads relaxed, polite and happy, was a scene which bore no possible resemblance to the events of the previous week-end. And yet, the *dramatis personæ*, with the exception of Jim, Bob and Mike, were exactly the same.

Friday was a busy day, with the camp site to be cleared before the coach and lorry arrived after lunch. Most of the lads were prepared to do their share and some worked well. The conduct of a small number, however, deteriorated badly. It was significant that the chief offenders were those with particularly pressing problems at home—Jack, for example, and Stan. Stan had been referred to one of the officers by his headmaster. Three times he had stolen money from friends of his parents but he had not been charged by the police. At school he was considered to be 'most unlikeable'. Although above average intelligence, his school work was poor. His father tended to think he ought to be 'put away' and he had little sympathy for him. Mother, on the other hand, was over-protective, but neither parent could appreciate the fact that Stan was going through the difficult period of puberty, nor could they give him the extra understanding he needed. For the first few days at camp he seemed depressed and strained and he carried his usual rather deceitful demeanour. He then formed a close relationship with another boy and their friendship brought him under the influence of several of the older lads. There was soon a noticeable change in him—he was cheerful, open and friendly, especially with the other boys but also, to a lesser degree, with the staff. His good physique and ability as a swimmer gave him added status. This 'most unlikeable' youth became, in fact, one of the most popular at camp and, until the last day, he gave no trouble at all. Then he became restless and anxious. Several times he expressed the wish that camp could continue indefinitely and he would do nothing to help strike it. But time was up and it was necessary to return to reality.

It is easier at this more distant juncture to consider the camp objectively. The aims of the 1954 camp had been the same as those of the previous year, i.e. (1) to give a party of London schoolboys, all of whom had personality problems of one sort or another, a healthy holiday under canvas. (2) To afford an opportunity of observing closely the reactions of this type of boy under conditions

where many aspects of his personality would be called into play by the demands of communal living. (3) To give the lads an opportunity of getting to know their probation officers and the officers a chance of establishing rapport with those under their supervision.

Clearly, in terms of an orderly camp, running smoothly and efficiently, the 1953 camp was more successful than that of 1954. Yet in the first camp, discipline had tended to be imposed from above; when it came this year, after a period of near-anarchy, it tended to come from within. Inevitably, it is the difficult boy whose activities have been described the more fully in this report. Some of the lads gave very little trouble, were amenable to suggestion and returned warmth for warmth in their personal relationships.

Co-existent with and implicit in its other aims, the camp was an experiment in helping the individual boy to self-discipline and identification with society. Ideally this implied the need for the permissive atmosphere which was decided upon in the early hours of Saturday morning. In a future camp, more thought will have to be given to this problem of discipline and freedom. Trouble must be expected from lads who have been victims of authority or agents of licence, for the liberty which is experienced for the first time in a permissive atmosphere is essentially self-destructive. Further, the degree of permissiveness which can be allowed is limited by (a) its possible consequences, (b) the time available for reintegration, and (c) the extent to which those responsible are able to stand aside and let things go to pieces. As a result, this year the organizers had to keep the situation under some control—but even they failed to let the natural consequences follow when the boys did not want to fetch supplies from the ship. One breakfast without, say, bread, milk and eggs would have been an excellent lesson in the field of social organization. All staff-organized group activities, while helping to develop a sense of unity, seem to the boys, and especially to those who present the most serious problems, to detract from the ‘freeness’ which they regard as an integral part of an enjoyable time. On the other hand, they expect to be told what to do and are at a loss when left to their own devices. Consideration will have to be given to this further point; because a camp must be limited in time, there may be an insufficient period for reintegration after anarchy. There is thus the consequent danger that it is the wrong lesson which is learnt and carried away.

We would suggest that in future experiments of this sort, there should be (a) a higher proportion of adults to probationers and (b) a more careful selection of boys in their total relationship to each other. This year the staff were fully extended the whole time. They were too busy dealing with the crises of the moment to be able to plan for the future or even to be with those lads who did not need immediate help with a pressing problem. A ratio of one adult to five or six boys is the minimum which can be considered safe. Such a ratio must be in addition to those adults engaged in purely routine work in the cookhouse and storeroom. Further, and this must be self-evident, it is necessary for a group to contain a good proportion of lads whose emotional adjustment is fairly good. This year far too many boys were severely maladjusted. In addition, several of the boys had only recently come under supervision and they had not, by the time of the camp, developed a sufficiently close relationship with their probation officer to accept control as from a father figure.

E. G. PRATT
S. RATCLIFFE.

APPROVED SCHOOLS AND THE FUTURE

This latest addition to the valuable series of monographs on Approved Schools³ deals with a problem which is no doubt very much in the minds not only of Approved Schools staffs but also of everybody else interested in the residential treatment of juvenile offenders in this country. The juvenile delinquency rate in England and Wales has, fortunately, shown a considerable decline since 1953, and the number of committals to Approved Schools, especially for junior boys, has fallen from its peak of 6,500 in 1941 to 4,500 in 1949 and 4,000 in 1953. Consequently, several Schools have been closed, four in the year 1954 alone—a development which has, inevitably, caused a great deal of uneasiness among Managers, Heads and staffs. As the present monograph rightly remarks, ‘no service can function efficiently in a state of uncertainty’; and in spite of recent improvements in salaries and conditions of employment the quality of the service as a whole has, it is stated, already suffered. The frank and searching discussion of the present and future of this important branch of the reformatory system which is presented in the report should be welcomed by all those concerned.

The first question which the report tries to answer is one of prediction: how is the delinquency rate and with it the rate of committals to Approved Schools likely to develop in coming years? On the one hand, as a result of the high birth rate of the immediate post-war years the number of children of Approved School age will rise up to 1962. Whether this will produce a corresponding rise in delinquency and in committals is, however, as the Committee admits, impossible to predict. As far as committals are concerned, the additional difficulty exists that they bear no fixed relation to the rate of delinquency, and short-term fluctuations in particular follow no distinguishable pattern. There is, however, as shown in Graph 4, a recent tendency for committals to fall in spite of increases in delinquency. The explanation may be found in the considerable rise in the numbers of children taken into care outside the Approved School system. Children’s homes, schools for maladjusted and educationally sub-normal children and similar institutions strongly compete with the latter. In a brief but illuminating section the Committee tries to clarify their respective functions, reaching the not unexpected conclusion that all those other institutions receive many children who could just as well have been sent to an Approved School. The opposite might of course be equally true in some Approved School cases. ‘We cannot differentiate between, say, “delinquent” and “maladjusted” children because a lot of children persist in being both.’ Similar conclusions were reached four years ago by Dr. Peter Scott in his article on ‘Residential Treatment of Juvenile Delinquents’ (this *Brit. J. Delinq.*, 1951, 2, 1, esp. pp. 17 *et seq.*), where he also discusses the possibility touched upon in the present report of ‘by-passing the Courts’ and admitting difficult children directly to Approved Schools, with the object of reducing the stigma of the latter.

³ *Approved Schools and the Future*. Association of Headmasters, Headmistresses and Matrons of Approved Schools. Technical Sub-Committee, Monograph No. 7, March, 1955, 31 pp. Price 1s. including postage, obtainable from the Manager, Mobberley Boys’ School, Knolls Green, Knutsford, Cheshire.

Among the recommendations of the Committee, all of which are worthy of careful consideration by the competent authorities, the following should be quoted: 'to take all possible steps to clarify the function of Approved Schools and to make their nature and purpose better understood by the bodies most directly concerned and by the public at large' and to carry out a survey of existing schools to determine their optimum capacity. Such a survey would make it easier to reach what the Committee regards as one of the most important practical objects of future policy, i.e. to deal with the inevitably fluctuating intake by expansion and contraction rather than by opening and closing. One might perhaps add the further suggestion that an investigation of this kind might be carried out as part of a wider survey of all existing forms of institutional treatment for young people as a follow-up to the Curtis Report. The present monograph is a small but valuable preparatory step in this direction. Of the original members of the Committee only three have remained, among them its former Secretary and Convener, Mr. John Gittins, the Principal of the Aycliffe School, whose influence and guiding hand can be felt in most sections of the report.

H. M.

STATISTICAL PAPERS. SERIES K

*No. 1. Survey of Social Statistics*⁴

As explained in the Introduction, this survey aims at implementing, to some extent, a request made by the Economic and Social Council of United Nations to its Secretary-General 'to take the initiative in arranging for adequate programmes of development in the various branches of Social Statistics'. After a brief discussion of the meaning and objects of 'Social Statistics', the present state of affairs in the principal fields of Social Statistics is reviewed in seventeen chapters, one of which is concerned with 'Social Defense'. The well-known difficulties and limitations of Criminal Statistics, in particular in the international sphere, are explained and some indications given of possible steps towards their improvement. One of the suggestions is to concentrate on the comparative study of three types of crime, i.e. homicide, aggravated assault, robbery and burglary, which in view of their gravity are, it is believed, more likely than others to come to the notice of the police.

H. M.

⁴ Statistical Office of the United Nations, New York, December, 1954, 46 pp.

CRITICAL NOTICE

OTHER PEOPLE'S MONEY. By Donald R. Cressey. (The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois. 1953. Pp. 191. \$3.00.)

Dr. Cressey, of the Department of Sociology, University of California at Los Angeles, has produced a model monograph of a kind but rarely found in criminological literature. He has not only collected valuable case material on several hundred cases of 'embezzlers', personally interviewed in three American prisons, Joliet, Chino and Terre Haute, but has also constructed a highly original theory of the causal factors leading to the commission of this type of offence. If only for its methodological interest this book deserves our closest attention. The present reviewer intends to concentrate on three major aspects of the study: first, the relationship between the legal and the sociological definition of embezzlement; secondly, the author's specific formula for the causal explanation of violations of financial trust; and, lastly, his general conception of causation.

The fact that the legal definitions of specific offences are often useless for purposes of criminological research has repeatedly been stressed by criminologists and criminal lawyers alike. Hans v. Hentig, for example, in one of his recent books¹ draws attention to the psychological inadequacy of the technical distinctions between simple and aggravated larcenies made in the Criminal Codes of many countries and seems to prefer the simpler solution of the Swiss Federal Code. Jerome Hall, in the new edition of his 'Theft, Law and Society', refers to the 'proliferation of statutes' in American legislation on embezzlement that makes them particularly difficult to apply. There are some obvious reasons for such differences between the legal and sociological definitions of offences: many legislators still cling to the idea that criminal statutes have to define their terms with a wealth of technical detail, and even in recent legislation much of this detail is still nothing but a slightly modernized reflection of out-dated social, economic and moral ideas. Moreover, criminal statutes, in order to be usable by the Courts of Law, have to be framed in terms as clear and unambiguous as possible and they have to punish—to use Durkheim's terms—violations of common sentiments which must not only be strong but also precise. The scientific needs of the crimino-sociologist or psychologist, however, are different; he wishes to study groups of law-breakers whose anti-social behaviour is homogeneous in that it arises from an identical social or psychological problem situation, and it is one of the objects of his study to define this situation in socio-psychological terms. These are the considerations which induced Dr. Cressey to ignore the complex and rather confused definitions of embezzlement in American statutes and to use in their place the concept of 'criminal violation of financial trust', characterized by two requirements—that the offender must have accepted a position of trust in good faith, and subsequently violated that trust by committing a crime, regardless of whether in law this crime was called embezzlement, larceny by a bailee, or forgery.

It was the second task of the investigator to formulate a hypothesis regarding the causes of such trust violations and to re-formulate it as often and as drastically

¹ See the review in this issue, p. 66.

as required in the light of the results of his case studies. Eventually, the following criteria were considered by the author invariably to be present in cases of trust violations: the trusted person regards himself as having a financial problem which, for a variety of reasons, he thinks is non-shareable, i.e. which is not socially or morally sanctionable and cannot therefore be shared with any other person. Moreover, he is aware of the possibility that this problem can be solved by violation of his position of trust; and, lastly, he is able to verbalize his trust violation in such a way as to make it, at least to himself, appear as non-criminal. To prove this hypothesis, extracts are given from a large number of the 400 cases studied, and it has to be admitted that the material presented seems to provide substantial confirmation. The chapter on 'The Violator's Vocabulary of Adjustment' is particularly illuminating. In a way, it may be said, of course, that this 'adjustment' which enables the violator to regard his criminal conduct as non-criminal and the violation of trust as due to the 'situation' rather than to his personal weaknesses is nothing but a manifestation of that old-established element of criminal psychology, the faculty of self-deception. Even so, however, it is Dr. Cressey's great merit to have empirically isolated the specific forms which self-deception is apt to take in cases of trust violation, such as the idea of 'borrowing' or the theory that the embezzled money actually in some mysterious way 'belonged' to the violator. A student of Edwin H. Sutherland, the author was naturally anxious to compare his hypothesis with the latter's theory of differential association. In one respect, he has—as has also Marshall B. Clinard in his 'Black Market'—distinctly improved on the model provided by Sutherland: he admits the significance, not seriously considered in 'White Collar Crime', of personal traits. It is not without justification that Cressey calls his book a study in the 'social psychology' of embezzlement. Whether a problem is regarded as 'non-shareable', or whether a certain form of verbalization is adopted is, he recognizes, likely to some extent to depend on the personality of the violator. One might perhaps add that the same might well apply to the very existence of a 'financial problem'. Although, generally speaking, he accepts Sutherland's theory of differential association as the most appropriate sociological explanation of criminal behaviour, Cressey doubts whether its more specific quantitative aspects are capable of being empirically proved. On the other hand, in a paper published after the present book (*Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 45, No. 1, May-June 1954) he makes an interesting attempt to show that even 'compulsive crimes' such as compulsive stealing and fire-setting present no exceptions to the theory of differential association, and it can hardly be doubted that there are some elements of social learning even in compulsive forms of crime.

Underlying the whole research is a theory of causation which implies that 'a scientist must seek to formulate generalizations which include all of the cases of the phenomenon with which he is concerned. . . . An enumeration of causal influences which hold true "on the average" would be a flat contradiction, for if something is a cause it must always have, by its own definition, the same effect'. This is not the place to embark upon a general discussion of the meaning of cause. Is not, however, perhaps something to be said for Bertrand Russell's view that 'all laws of the form "A causes B" are liable to exceptions, since something may intervene to prevent the expected result'?

H. M.

REVIEWS

ZUR PSYCHOLOGIE DER EINZELDELIKTE. VOL. I, DIEBSTAHL, EINBRUCH, RAUB.
By Hans von Hentig. (J.C.B. Mohr—Paul Siebeck—Tubingen. 1954.
Pp. vii + 195. Paper-bound DM 12.80, cloth-bound DM 15.80.)

With the exception of sexual offences, on which there are plenty of monographs, criminologists have so far been concentrating mainly on the study of general principles, at the expense of the analysis of specific offences. The publication of two important studies dealing with offences against property, i.e. Cressey's book reviewed on p. 64 and the first volume of Hans von Hentig's series, is therefore much to be welcomed. Apart from this fact that they are both concerned with specific offences, Cressey with criminal violations of financial trust and Hentig with larceny, burglary, breakings and robbery, there is very little they have in common. While Cressey's approach is mainly socio-psychological and his material derived from personal case studies, von Hentig uses a combination of statistics, autobiographies of criminals, newspaper reports, and similar historical and contemporary documentation, mostly American and German. His wide knowledge of the subject and his well-known skill in presentation make his book fascinating reading. He rightly rejects the widely held view that larceny in its various forms, being by far the most frequent offence, is also the least interesting of all, and he succeeds in bringing to life the immense variety not only of techniques employed in stealing but also of personality types and of causes and motives involved. At the same time, the widest scope is given to statistical matters such as the 'dark figure' in the various forms of larceny and breaking. In spite of the heavy emphasis on socio-economic, including ecological, factors to be expected from a writer of Hentig's general interests, there is also an important chapter on 'special motives and pathological conditions' in stealing in which, among others, the importance of fear as a causal factor in larceny is stressed and, in the field of abnormal stealing, an attempt is made to distinguish between 'kleptomania' and 'kleptophilia'. One of the longest chapters, that on professional thieves, and the one on bank robberies, are mainly technical and should be useful to both would-be criminals and potential victims. As only natural in the case of the author of the best study of the rôle played by the victim, a special chapter is devoted to certain psychological and sociological characteristics of the latter.

One of the possible criticisms of the sources used for the book has been anticipated by the author when he writes (p. 146, pa. 11): 'The very big burglar does not condescend to write his memoirs. . . . Do we really know the aristocracy of the underworld, and don't we perhaps judge the criminal only from those failures whom we are able to get hold of?' Another weakness may be found in the smallness of some of the local and regional figures used for statistical purposes. In spite of such minor details, however, the author should be strongly encouraged to continue this series which, as he tells us in his Foreword, he is likely to do if the present first volume should be favourably received.

H. M.

A COURT FOR CHILDREN. A Study of the New York City Children's Court. By Alfred J. Kahn. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1953. Pp. 359. \$4.50.)

In all the luxuriant variety of juvenile court procedures which flourishes in the United States, probably the New York City Children's Court will strike the British observer as most like what he is accustomed to at home. Even so there are considerable differences. The New York Court ranks as a civil, not a criminal, tribunal, and for that reason it can treat such things as the laws of evidence more lightly than would be permissible for its British counterparts. Children are not called on to take the oath, and their presence in court can be dispensed with at any stage of the proceedings: the press is also excluded from hearings. A fair proportion of cases, moreover, is dealt with through a Bureau of Adjustment housed in the same building as the Court itself. This Bureau functions as a case-work agency, and to it are normally referred neglect cases, together with all first allegations of minor delinquencies or of truancy, and all complaints of delinquency made by parents against their children. Cases may also be referred to the Bureau by the presiding judge—who, as is usual in the United States, is professionally qualified and paid, not, as generally in this country, an untrained, voluntary amateur.

Dr. Kahn has written an extremely thorough, critical study of the Court and its work, as well as of its impact upon those with whose troubles it has to cope. His book deserves to be carefully read on both sides of the Atlantic, and should be particularly valuable in this country as a help to those who already have some acquaintance with American methods of dealing with delinquent and neglected children, and who believe that in these matters each country has something to learn from the other.

At many points Dr. Kahn's criticisms of the Court are severe. It is indeed a merit of the book, as well as a tribute to American attitudes, that he can say as much as he does. His comments about judges who 'fall victims' to the 'major occupational hazard—the feeling that they can readily appraise a situation and regularly make wise decisions not subject to questions' are most outspoken, and supported by devastating illustrations. Such candour is the more remarkable inasmuch as the number of judges is not large, and it cannot be difficult for anyone familiar with the Court to identify some at least of the individuals thus pilloried.

Detailed discussion of the probation services occupies a large proportion of the book. This too comes in for a good share of criticism. Many of the shortcomings listed here are apparent even to a casual observer, and many, too, have a familiar ring in British ears. The New York probation service is understaffed and underpaid, and the labour turnover is appallingly high, yet time is wasted in waiting around the Court for cases to be called, while inadequate clerical help compels the probation officer to occupy himself with record-keeping and even typing, when he is often desperately needed elsewhere. At the same time, Dr. Kahn's estimate of the standards attained, based on a sample of probation cases, might be described as over-confident, if not indeed almost as slick. Though his judgments are based only upon written records of cases which in the nature of things he could not have seen personally, he is nonetheless very definite as to which were well, and which badly, handled. Yet we have to recognize that, in the absence of any follow-up, no objective test is possible; all standards, even the most highly

professionalized, are ultimately subjective. Dr. Kahn does not explicitly formulate the bases of his own assessments, though by implication it is clear enough where he stands; but he must forgive the doubts of those who cannot wholly share the apparent faith of some schools of social work in the exclusiveness or the finality of the revelation by which psychiatrists and psychiatrically orientated caseworkers together claim to penetrate the age-long mysteries of the human heart. Perhaps judges are not alone in their exposure to 'occupational hazards'.

BARBARA WOOTTON.

RE-EDUCATING THE DELINQUENT. Through Group and Community Participation. By S. R. Slavson. (New York: Harper Brothers. 1954. Pp. xvi + 251. \$3.75.)

The Hawthorne-Cedar Knolls School established over fifty years ago by the Jewish Board of Guardians of New York has been one of the leading institutions designed on the cottage plan for the care and social rehabilitation of delinquent boys and girls. While it was amongst the first to supply trade training for the young offender it was also geared to the latest developments in psychiatry and social science, namely psychotherapy and child guidance. This volume is revealed from its earliest chapters as a very human account of the climate of an establishment with all the storms and stresses created by the aggregation of a diverse collection of human rebels in their formative years. Mr. Slavson was called in to deal with a riotous situation which exploded in 1935. For many weeks there had been hysterical pandemonium in the girls' department reaching the pitch of homicidal attempts on the staff. The cynical reader may feel that the curtain rises on too 'film-like' a situation. We seem to have seen it all before at the cinema. But as we patiently read on we find ourselves right in the midst of a human situation. Resentment, primitive search for justice soon show themselves as the façade which only thinly covers the personality reactions of those who have been maltreated, unloved, undervalued. The author withstands the initial sullen hostility by an attitude of sustained detached friendliness and patience. Soon the scene of wild riot differentiates into groups and persons. For it is only when the observer of such situations recognizes the dynamic interplay of individual emotions and group feelings however primitive in their expression, that the dimensions of the problem become clear and therapeutic approaches become possible. Mr. Slavson is obviously an 'old hand' at handling group situations. The rebellion is not quelled, but is slowly resolved by his own participation in the life forces of the individuals within the group. He is at times a little smug in his self satisfaction, but in terms of the results he must be forgiven.

The part of creative activity is fully considered but above all the patience, the trust and the sympathy needed for such therapy is very obvious. Recondite psychotherapy of the individual was hardly possible, but by implication it was there all the time. We are still a long way from understanding how and why individuals pass from aggregations to groups and thence to a happy co-operative community.

E. M.

SCIENCE AND SOCIAL ACTION. Josiah Mason Lectures delivered at the University of Birmingham. By W. J. H. Sprott. (London: Watts & Co. 1954. Pp. 164. 15s.)

One has come to expect from all of Professor Sprott's writings elegance, lucidity and wit. All three are present in these lectures, but there are rather fewer of those jokes which have so often delighted his audiences and illuminated his subject matter on other occasions. Nevertheless, it must be said from the very beginning that this is a book to be read and enjoyed by everyone in any way connected with the social sciences and the theoretical or practical study of society.

For all that, it is a rather puzzling book. It consists of eight chapters of which the first three are concerned with fundamental theoretical issues, and the latter five, I suppose, with illustrations of these issues. The present writer for one found, however, the break between these two sections and the relevance of the latter material difficult to see. Professor Sprott begins by the claim, which is certainly part of the truth, that science itself is part of the social process and he ends with a social relativism which seems to me to burke some of the most fascinating problems raised by his last chapter on 'The Sociology of Knowledge'.

The earlier chapters are based on the view that the fundamental object of social study is 'social action'—'in agreement with Max Weber and his modern follower Talcott Parsons'. Social action, *i.e.*, human behaviour with an intentional reference to other human beings, has four aspects: 'inter-action itself; the social constructs within which it is performed; the beliefs which it produces . . . ; and the physical and demographic environment in which it takes place'. From these Professor Sprott goes on to discuss society as a system of positions and rôles organized round five main modes: kin, economics, politics, the 'cellular' system and the status system. No doubt this is one way of looking at society, and it has one great advantage: it does permit a fairly close liaison between psychology and sociological theory. It is not the only way of looking at society and I am by no means convinced that it is the most fruitful for most of the purposes which sociologists have in mind. At any rate, so far as I can see, when Professor Sprott gets down in his illustrative chapters to dealing with concrete social phenomena he makes surprisingly little use of the system which he has so clearly expounded.

It may be remarked, rather tangentially to Professor Sprott's book, that we badly need a study of how economics, political science, social anthropology and, very largely, sociology have all succeeded to a marked degree on rather crude *ad hoc* psychologies. In fact, it would seem that these subjects get into the position of the devils in Milton's hell precisely when they begin to worry too much about psychology, and are 'in wandering mazes lost'. Professor Sprott would not agree. If, he claims, the hypothesis of a dynamic integration of society is fruitless, then there is no social theory and we must return to psychological study. This is not the place to argue the point, but I am convinced neither by the argument itself, nor of the necessity of this dichotomy of *either* integrated social system, *or* psychological explanation.

The rest of the book illuminates an enormous number of themes and should be of universal value and instruction. We are given what is, I suppose, a preview of Professor Sprott's forthcoming book on small groups, a study of assimilation and immigration, and a chapter on 'Deviance', which must be of great interest to readers of this Journal. Professor Sprott's conclusion here is that 'a social

system not only precipitates its own delinquency rate, but that it also standardizes to a certain extent the forms which delinquency will take'.

The book closes with a discussion of the largest possible scale of sociological theorizing where writers from Comte to Sorokin are discussed and largely dismissed, and finally closes, by way of the sociology of knowledge, with the sceptical relativism on which I have already remarked.

All this may sound like a Cook's tour of leading social and psychological issues, but our guide is so informed and so penetrating that the tour is not merely pleasant in itself, but of lasting value to the tourist. DONALD G. MACRAE.

HOSPITAL AND COMMUNITY. By Thomas Ferguson and A. N. MacPhail. (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege for Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. ix + 157. 9s. 6d.)

In order to assess the relationship of social factors such as age, occupation, working and home conditions, to hospital treatment, the authors have undertaken and achieved a meticulous analysis and follow-up of 700 male patients from four Scottish hospitals.

Grimly their statistics have underlined what many of us may have already suspected, *i.e.* that the meek do not inherit our earth. The degree of successful medical rehabilitation varies inversely with that of poverty, squalor and ignorance in the home, thereby playing havoc with the noble purposes of our hospital services. This serious statistical survey is softened by the inclusion of a number of personal case histories so that heart as well as head is reached.

S. CHARLES LEWSEN.

THE PATHS OF JUSTICE. By Kathleen Freeman. (London: Lutterworth Press. 1954. Pp. 191. 12s. 6d.)

A very popular, but well-written description of a number of Athenian criminal trials in the greatest period of Athenian history, including some of the most famous ones. Those unfamiliar with the working of the machinery of justice in classical Athens, its courts and their procedure, will derive much profit from this book. The almost complete absence of any references to the literature is, however, a serious disadvantage even in a popular work whose readers may well be anxious to carry their studies a stage further.

H. M.

ANY WIFE OR ANY HUSBAND. By 'Medica', 2nd Edition. (London: Wm. Heinemann. 1955. Pp. 147. 10s. net.)

Compact of experience, wisdom and commonsense, Dr. 'Joan Graham's' little book on the science and art of sexual relations deserves to circulate widely in both lay and professional circles. It deals briefly, simply and effectively with such matters as the range of sexual capacity, common functional disorders, deviations, problems and adaptations in the sexual life of both male and female; and gives a brief sketch of psycho-sexual theory. Within this wide and in many respects fallow field, there are inevitably many issues concerning which scientific opinion is likely to be divided. Some may think, for example, that the author stresses too much the functional aspects of the so-called 'anxiety neuroses' which are frequently attributed to prolonged sexual excitation without adequate dis-

charge; many observers believe that the direct functional factor operates only on those constitutionally and psychically predisposed to disorders of excitation and discharge. And it seems unlikely that such moot points can be determined without the assistance of a series of commissions, of which the author of this book might well act as Chairman.

On the grounds that marital disorders often contribute to faulty upbringing and thereby lead in some cases to antisocial behaviour on the part of children, this book should be in the hands of all workers in the field of delinquency whether medical or lay. It should also be obligatory reading for those social and medical workers who often embark boldly on marital guidance without adequate equipment for this delicate task.

E. G.

SOCIAL PROGRESS AND THE INDIVIDUAL. The 14th Clarke Hall Lecture. By Lady Cynthia Colville. (Published by the Clarke Hall Fellowship, London. 1954. Pp. 27. 2s. 6d.)

Lady Colville has been identified with social welfare work for many years and sat with the late Sir William Clarke Hall in the Juvenile Court at Toynbee Hall. The lecture breaks no new ground. It surveys the contemporary social and industrial scene in order to bring into relief the salient stresses and perhaps easy opportunities for indulgence that the age in which we live presents to the child and adolescent.

E. M.

SON OF OSCAR WILDE. By Vyvyan Holland. (London: Rupert Hart Davies. 1954. Pp. 272. 18s.)

To the amateur of literature this sympathetic study of the tragic comedian, wit and dramatist will have a certain appeal. For some years the psychopathic downfall of Oscar Wilde has been the subject of scandalous revelation, literary critical overestimation and a darkening rather than an elucidation of the enigma.

This study carries no further in any direction. It is no addition to literary criticism and to a psychiatrist it gives no clue to the strange case of a devoted husband, delightful father of two children, engaging exhibitionist and homosexual. That an invert can be sexually able to marry and procreate is no novelty. But the dichotomy in Wilde's character still awaits a critical psychological biography. Nevertheless, as an example of filial piety and the record of a family suffering for the sins of the father this work should have a wide appeal.

E. M.

THE COLLECTED PAPERS OF OTTO FENICHEL: Second series: edited by Hanna Fenichel and David Rapaport. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1955. Pp. 374. 35s. net.)

This second volume comprises papers written from 1936 until the author's death in 1946. From the point of view of the general reader it is more digestible than the First Volume which contained a number of highly technical articles on various aspects of psycho-analysis (see Review B.J.D. Volume V, Number 3, January 1955). Although not directly concerned with delinquency the papers on masturbation, phantastic lying, character formation, brief psychotherapy, neurotic 'acting out', and on the theory of Anti-Semitism are of more than passing interest to the delinquency worker. Fenichel was a good teacher and wrote as clearly as he taught.

E. G.

THE PSYCHIATRIST AND THE DYING PATIENT. By K. R. Eissler, M.D. (New York: International Universities Press. 1955. Pp. 338. \$5.)

Dr. Eissler, who is an ardent supporter of Freud's theory of the Death-Instinct, seeks to apply this concept to the study of dying, outlines a psychiatric technique intended to help those faced with death and discusses the problem of euthanasia. An erudite and in its way imaginative, if at times somewhat naive, approach to a much neglected subject.

E. G.

PSYCHO-ANALYSIS AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. By Warner Muensterberger, Ph.D., and Sidney Axelrad, D.S. Sc. (New York: International Universities Press. 1955. Pp. 295. \$6.)

A collection of typical psycho-analytical essays on anthropology. Lest our readers should be misled by the title, which seems to promise some relation between the subject matter and current social problems, it should be indicated that the main concern of the book is with the principles of applied psycho-analysis, with various aspects of leadership and with essays in psycho-analytical exegesis.

E. G.

ABSTRACTS AND REFERENCES

(Under the direction of W. R. Bett, with the co-operation of A. Bonnard, J. P. Martin, and J. C. Spencer)

CRIMINOLOGY

HENRY ALLEN BULLOCK: 'Urban Homicide in Theory and Fact', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1955, **45**, 565-575.

The Professor of Sociology in Texas Southern University attempts to provide the factual basis of a theory which will, he hopes, explain the systematic connection between homicides and the places where they occur. For his source he uses records of homicide in the city of Houston, Texas, during the period 1945-49. Over 87 per cent. of the cases occurred within eight blocks of four named streets. These areas are strategic in nature, possessing socio-economic characteristics significantly different from other areas of the city. The characteristics of these areas are discussed.

J. C. S.

JEROME E. BATES: 'The Abortion Mill: An Institutional Study', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1954, **45**, 157-169.

The author examines the structure, function, operation, integration and apparatus organized by the actors in the abortion mill which he classifies as a 'deviant crescive institution'. The mill he defines as an abortionist or several abortionists working steadily in a fairly permanent location and aborting a dozen or so women daily. It has arisen in response to partial group protest reactions against dominant mores. He shows a minor hierarchy of social rôles within the organization, and an interaction of mill personnel with enacted types of institutions and associations.

J. C. S.

DOCTEUR ALEXANDER: 'In regard to Recidivism in the Abnormal Delinquent', *Revue de Droit Penal et de Criminologie*, 1955, **8**, 685-694.

A law was passed in 1930 with the purpose of making therapeutic measures available to delinquents who present abnormalities whether of character or intelligence. Through its application much help has been rendered. There is an encouraging decline in recidivism in these cases, proving that even those of reduced intelligence can learn favourable modifications of their behaviour. While the possibility is readily acknowledged that mental disturbance may govern the crimes of addicts or of offenders against the moral code, the outlook tends to be different in regard to those committing offences against property. The author provides clinical criteria whereby pathological aberrations of reasoning or of character can similarly be inferred in certain delinquents. He argues that the proper treatment of abnormal wrongdoers is of prime importance and can only be achieved by teams of experts who must be given adequate facilities, including time and place for careful clinical evaluation.

A. B.

A. STANLEY WEBSTER: 'Personality and Intelligence of Convicts in West Virginia', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1954, **45**, 176-179.

This article describes the results of a testing programme during 1949 at the West Virginia Penitentiary, Moundsville, West Virginia. The aim was to discover some relationship between the degree of intelligence and/or personality pattern, and the type of crime committed. Twelve conclusions are summarized.

J. C. S.

HANS VON HENTIG: 'Pioneers in Criminology. II. Gustav Aschaffenburg', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1954, **45**, 117-122.

This article by Professor Hans von Hentig is the second study in the series—Pioneers in Criminology.

J. C. S.

PENOLOGY

HANS A. ILLING: 'The "Visitor" and his Rôle in Group Therapy', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1954, **44**, 753-758.

The majority of patients described in this paper are convicts, serving a prison term and being simultaneously treated on Terminal Island in the harbour of Los Angeles. The writer describes his observations based on the rôle of 'visitor' to two therapeutic groups, particularly as regards the transference toward the therapist.

J. C. S.

ARTHUR V. HUFFMAN and WILSON M. MEEKS: 'A Statement of Principles of Treatment in Preparation for Parole', *Federal Probation*, 1954, **18**, No. 4, 9-14.

Discusses principles on which parole may be awarded. Stresses importance of co-ordination between parole authorities and the institution's classification board. The need for research on the results obtained by parole procedures is emphasized.

J. P. M.

PSYCHIATRY

W. R. POINDEXTER: 'Mental Illness in a State Penitentiary', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1955, **45**, 559-564.

The most obvious finding from the study of 100 problem inmates of the Oregon State Penitentiary in 1952 was that inadequate presentence examinations were performed. The purpose of the article is to bring attention to the existing situation of psychotic prisoners who are wrongfully in the State Penitentiary instead of in the mental hospital.

J. C. S.

BERNARD C. GLUECK: 'Changing Concepts in Forensic Psychiatry', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1954, **45**, 123-132.

The background to this paper is the psychopathological information collected by the Sex Research Project on both sexual and non-sexual offenders at Sing Sing Prison as well as the author's clinical experience at the prison. He discusses the current dissatisfaction with the indeterminate sentence and makes certain proposals to remedy present deficiencies.

J. C. S.

BEN KARPMAN: 'Psychosomatic Neurosis as Regards Prohibited Sexual Drives', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1954, **44**, 746-752.

The author describes a case of unconscious drives held in severe restraint and expressed in psychosomatic manifestations. He argues that criminality, being psychogenetically closely related to a highly specific form of a neurosis, can effectually be treated psychotherapeutically, and the aggression behind it released and redirected into socially acceptable channels.

J. C. S.

SOL RUBIN, *et al.*: 'Parents' responsibility for Delinquency', *Focus*, 1955, **34**, 35-37.

This is the last number of *Focus*, which is now to be replaced by two new journals. It contains an authoritative symposium on how far parents should be held responsible for the delinquency of their children and discusses what can be done by various methods, including punishment of the parents (which is shown to be useless) and various forms of counselling and psychiatric treatment.

J. P. M.

ANONYMOUS: 'Alcoholics Anonymous in Prisons', *Federal Probation*, 1954, **18**, No. 4, 17-20.

Describes some of the problems of forming A.A. groups in prisons, and emphasizes the value, to the newly discharged offender, of having a group prepared to help him on release. The article, however, is regrettably vague about the details of how such groups can be formed and fostered within the prison community. Some figures of successes are given.

J. P. M.

PSYCHOANALYSIS

Revue Française de Psychanalyse, 1954, **18**, No. 3.

This number contains firstly a discussion on the criteria for terminating analysis by S. Nacht, M. M. Bouvet, and M. M. Bénassy and M. F. Lechat. The question of an intuitive acceptance by both analyst and subject as to the termination point is particularly discussed and the vexed question of the liquidation of transference.

J.-A. Favreau considers the psycho-analytic aspect of child-parent relations in child case studies. The method pursued in child guidance of parallel handling of child and parent seems to have been largely adopted by Lebovici, whereas others see mother and child together so that interpretations to the child are immediately conveyed to the mother.

R. Pruschy-Béjarano contributes a highly technical article on the contribution of the Szondi Test to psycho-analysis. The author thinks that validation is only possible by checking up with characterological features before and after analysis. The test seems to go some way in exposing a kind of dialectic relationship between manifest defences and deep unconscious drives. E. M.

LAW

ALBERT J. HARNO, HERBERT WECHSLER, GERALD F. FLOOD, JAMES V. BENNETT: 'American Law Institute Proceedings, May 20, 1954', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1955, **45**, 520-540.

The four subjects covered by the speakers at the conference were: Crime and Punishment; A Thoughtful Code of Substantive Law; Sentencing Function of the Judge; After Sentence—What? J. C. S.

A. C. BRECKENRIDGE: 'Wanted: Uniform Law Enforcement', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1954, **45**, 170-175.

One feature is common to most of the forty or so major crime study commissions in the U.S.A. since World War I, namely that the laws defining certain actions as crimes are applied unequally within a state by the several agencies engaged in law enforcement. The Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Nebraska suggests a number of possible solutions and reforms. J. C. S.

FRED E. INBAU: 'Should we Abolish the Constitutional Privilege against Self-Incrimination?', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1954, **45**, 180-184.

The Professor of Law at Northwestern University argues that we can considerably reduce the amount of mockery now levelled at our self-incrimination privilege, and we can better preserve it, by the enactment of 'official good conduct' and 'immunity' legislation of the types suggested. This can be accomplished without the risk of losing our basic civil liberties. J. C. S.

FERD PAUL MIHM: 'Sex Psychopath Statutes', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1954, **44**, 716-736.

It is doubtful whether the sex psychopath statutes which arose in sixteen states and the District of Columbia in response to a public clamour for new and stringent laws in fact satisfy the demands of constitutionality and practicability. Their ineffectiveness stems in part from the hasty manner in which they were enacted without proper scientific investigation. The term itself, sex psychopathy, has no place in dynamic, medical or legal classification. J. C. S.

J. VANDERVEEREN: 'The Jury in Belgium', *Revue de Droit Penal et de Criminologie*, 1955, **6**, 473-522.

A study of the history, status and functions of the jury system in Belgium. While it is considered to be an excellent one and well suited to the proper exercise

of justice, certain modifications are advocated. The evolution and present-day functions of the jury system in other countries, notably France, Britain, Italy, are succinctly outlined. The account of the British jury system and its discussion is a *tour-de-force*.
A. B.

DOCTEUR L. MASSION-VERNIORY: 'Somnambulism and Criminality', *Revue de Droit Penal et de Criminologie*, 1955, 7, 589-606.

Two recent criminal cases are presented in which it was claimed that the crime (murder) was committed when the accused was not in a conscious state. One case was that of a Belgian woman, who pleaded that she shot her husband while in a somnambulistic state. A differential clinical and forensic diagnosis is discussed which shows why her claim was unacceptable. A range of literature is given which leans heavily on the works of Janet but is then brought up-to-date by E.E.G. findings and their relationship to epilepsy and post-epileptic behaviour patterns. The other criminal case cited concerns a young Dane who shot two cashiers in a Bank in Denmark, and then quietly permitted his arrest in anomalous circumstances. He claimed that his 'guardian angel' directed this idealistic act. The 'angel' turned out to be a real person who had gained much profit from the accused, including the sexual use of his wife. After prolonged enquiry and much psychiatric evidence, both men were sentenced to imprisonment, the alleged 'hypnotist' receiving a life sentence and the actual murderer a brief one. The case is discussed from the point of view of creating a legal precedent in accepting hypnotic influence of this degree and it being both possible and punishable as the prime agent in an act of murder.
A. B.

CHILD WELFARE

'Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency', *Lancet*, 1955, 1, 1016-1018. A full summary of the Peter le Neve Foster Lecture given at the Royal Society of Arts on 27th April, by Sir Basil Henriques.

Two types of children appear before the juvenile courts—mischievous young law-breakers, and unhappy problem children. The weakest part of child-welfare work in England is its preventive side. Every town, and every district of cities, should have a child-welfare office, presided over by a director of child welfare, and containing the headquarters of all the statutory and voluntary bodies which deal with children's welfare. The juvenile court should hold its sessions in a room in the child-welfare office. Too little attention is paid to absenteeism from school—a sure sign of something wrong somewhere. School inquiry officers are among the most poorly paid of local-authority servants. All children under fifteen who need residential training should be committed to the care of the local authority. The children's department of the Home Office, the Ministry of Education, the National Youth Employment Council of the Ministry of Labour, and the department of the Ministry of Health dealing with children of school age and under, should be combined to form a Ministry of Juvenile Welfare, under a Minister of Cabinet rank.
W. R. B.

REFERENCES

- W. F. ROPER: 'Human Relations in Institutional Treatment. 1. Human Relations in English Prisons', *Howard Journal*, 1955, 9², 91-100.
- W. MOLLENHAUER: 'Human Relations in Institutional Treatment. 2. Human Relations and In-Service Training in a German Youth Prison', *Howard Journal*, 1955, 9², 100-103.
- M. FRANKLIN: 'Human Relations in Institutional Treatment. 3. Human Relations in the Institutional Treatment of Maladjusted and Delinquent Children', *Howard Journal*, 1955, 9², 103-108.
- J. A. HOBSON: 'Psychiatric Evidence in Murder Trials', *Howard Journal*, 1955, 9², 109-117. (Eight references.)
- J. D.: 'Prison and After: the Experience of a Former Homosexual', *Howard Journal*, 1955, 9², 118-124.
- J. KELLEY: 'Askham Grange—Open Prison for Women', *Howard Journal*, 1955, 9², 124-130.
- D. REIFEN: 'Juvenile Delinquency and Culture Conflict in Israel', *Howard Journal*, 1955, 9², 130-136.
- F. FOSTER: 'Borstal After-Care', *Howard Journal*, 1955, 9², 136-142.
- G. BENSON: 'Report of the Commissioners of Prisons, 1953', *Howard Journal*, 1955, 9², 142-146.
- M. GRÜNHUT: 'Progress in Criminal Statistics: Comments on Criminal Statistics, England and Wales, 1953', *Howard Journal*, 1955, 9², 146-152.
- 'Developments in the Treatment and Study of Juvenile Delinquency', *Howard Journal*, 1955, 9², 153-157.
- A. M. JOHNSON: 'Progress in Pediatrics: Individual Antisocial Behavior', *American Journal of Diseases of Children*, 1955, 89, 472-475. (Six references.)
- H. BAKWIN: 'Causes of Juvenile Delinquency', *American Journal of Diseases of Children*, 1955, 89, 368-373. (Summary; 12 references.)
- J. COTTER HIRSCHBERG and J. NOSHPITZ: 'Comments on Sociopsychological Aspects of Juvenile Delinquency', *American Journal of Diseases of Children*, 1955, 89, 361-367. (Thirty-eight references.)
- H. HENCK: 'Die Bedeutung cerebraler und hormonaler Störungen für die Persönlichkeitsforschung 'Schwerkrimineller'', *Zeitschrift für Diagnostische Psychologie und Persönlichkeitsforschung*, 1955, 3¹, 47-62. (Three case-reports; table; English summary; 15 references.)

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

SIR DAVID HENDERSON, M.D., F.R.C.P. Formerly Professor of Psychiatry, Edinburgh University, and Physician Superintendent of the Royal Edinburgh Mental Hospital.

PROFESSOR L. S. PENROSE, M.A., M.D., F.R.S. Research Medical Officer, Royal Eastern Counties' Institution, Colchester, 1931; Director of Psychiatric Research in Ontario, 1939; Galton Professor of Eugenics, University College, London, 1945.

WILLIAM CALDER, M.B., Ch.B. (Edinburgh), D.P.M. (London). Joined the Prison Medical Service in 1948 and has served at Brixton and Wormwood Scrubs; formerly Medical Officer at Inverness Mental Hospital.

LEONARD BLOOM is an Honours graduate in Psychology and Sociology. He has been connected with Red Hill School as teacher and therapist since 1947, and is the author of a forthcoming book on residential psychotherapy.

THE TECHNIQUE OF Psychoanalysis

BY EDWARD GLOVER, M.D.

This book is, we believe, unique in the literature of psychoanalysis. It gives a concise account of the various stages of this process and its application in various disorders of the mind, indicates the pitfalls which, for both subjective and objective reasons, beset the working analyst, and presents a reasoned survey of the principles on which psychoanalytic therapy is based. Written clearly and simply it can be read with understanding by analyst and non-analyst alike. Price 35s. Post 1s. 3d. In America from the International Universities Press Inc., 227 West 13th Street, New York 11. Price \$7.50.

Baillière, Tindall and Cox

7-8 HENRIETTA STREET, LONDON, W.C.2

Hermann Mannheim

The author of *Criminal Justice and Social Reconstruction* has collected and brought up to date material written in the past twenty years. Of particular interest is his treatment of two burning penological topics: capital punishment and short-term prison sentences.

GROUP PROBLEMS IN CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

Published in September, 28s. net

ROUTLEDGE & KEGAN PAUL

The British Journal of PSYCHOLOGY

EDITED BY JAMES DREVER

VOL XLVI PART 2

MAY 1955 20s.

Harry Kay. Learning and retaining verbal material.

Peter H. Venables. Changes in motor response with increase and decrease in task difficulty in normal industrial and psychiatric patient subjects.

John Cohen and C. E. M. Hansel. The idea of a distribution.

F. W. Warburton. The scientific status of mental measurement.

Sidney M. Jourard and Paul F. Secord. Body cathexis and personality.

Agnes Crawford. The Dvorine pseudo-isochromatic plates.

Publications recently received. Other publications received.

Editorial Note. Erratum.

The subscription price per volume, payable in advance, is 60s. net, post free.

Subscriptions may be sent to any bookseller or to the

Cambridge University Press

BENTLEY HOUSE, EUSTON ROAD, LONDON, N.W.1

THE BRITISH JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

EDITED BY

M. GINSBERG D. V. GLASS T. H. MARSHALL

VOLUME VI No. 2

CONTENTS

JUNE 1955

Proceedings of the British Sociological Association 1955

Voting Behaviour and Its Study in Britain

Voting Behaviour in France

Power Within British Political Parties

Pressure Groups in British Government

Public Opinion Polls and Foreign Policy

The Press and Public Opinion

Public Opinion and Foreign Policy

The Radical Right: A Problem for American Democracy

Book Review

D. Butler

Jean Stoetzel

R. T. McKenzie

W. J. M. Mackenzie

Henry Durant

Donald McLachlan

Kenneth Younger, P.C., M.P.

Seymour Martin Lipset

Published Quarterly, 30s. per annum post free, single copies 10s. net

ROUTLEDGE AND KEGAN PAUL

BROADWAY HOUSE 68-74 CARTER LANE, LONDON E.C.4

The Journal of CRIMINAL LAW, CRIMINOLOGY and POLICE SCIENCE

TIMELY SCIENTIFIC INFORMATION
ON THE SUBJECT OF CRIME,
ITS CAUSE,
DETECTION
AND PREVENTION

Bi-monthly foreign subscription rate £1 · 17 · 6 per volume

RECENT ARTICLES INCLUDE:

Training programs for juvenile offenders
The chemical brew of criminal behavior
State academies for police
Composition, properties and behavior of ball pens and inks
The police patrol car
Role of the pathologist in arson investigation
The concept of temporary insanity viewed by a criminologist
What is wrong with American prisons and jails

STANDARD

FEATURES:

Criminal law notes and com-
ments
Current notes
Book reviews
Police science technical and
legal abstracts

Published for the **Williams and Wilkins Co.** Baltimore 2, Md.
U.S.A. for the Northwestern University School of Law.

The International Journal of Social Psychiatry

The first in this field; a new Quarterly correlating inter-disciplinary research, to be published in the early Summer, 1955. The first issue will include articles by the two Editors: Professor Thomas A. C. Rennie of Cornell University Medical College, New York, and Joshua Bierer M.D., D.Econ. and Soc. Sc., Medical Director of the Marlborough Day Hospital, London; also articles by Dr. J. M. Bell of Dingleton Hospital, Scotland; Dr. Michael Fordham of the C. G. Jung Clinic; Dr. G. de M. Rudolf of Hortham Hospital, Bristol; Professor Carl R. Rogers of the University of Chicago; Dr. Georg K. Stürup of Herstedvester Institute, Denmark; Dr. C. Lohne Knudsen of Oslo, Norway; and Professor T. L. Green of Ceylon. There will also be a column *Audiat et altera pars* contributed mostly by ex-mental patients, reports and book reviews.

Annual subscription £1.5.0, for U.K., Commonwealth and other countries.
\$5.00 U.S.A., Canada and S. America. *Block Subscription (Organizations)*
£1.1.0 and \$4.00.

ALL ENQUIRIES SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY

The International Journal of Social Psychiatry

9 FELLOWS ROAD, LONDON, N.W.3, ENGLAND
